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ABSTRACT

This dissertation determines how state-level textbook decisions were made in Texas during the period 1969-81. A combination of primary document, survey, and oral history data is employed to reveal actions of participants in three decision groups and their interactions with textbook publishers and petitioners during phases of three textbook selections. Investigation focuses primarily on how textbooks were evaluated and the nature and extent of publisher and petitioner influence on decision makers. This study's qualitative methodology interprets the "insider" view from oral history data of each of three decision phases. Chapter 1 describes research motivation, utility for practitioners and scholars, and the study's terms and limitations. Chapter 2 relates how study focus evolved, and chapter 3 explains investigative procedures. Chapter 4 presents data from the case studies, and chapter 5 reveals that all three groups used the Texas textbook guidelines as an important evaluation criterion but that each group interpreted them differently. Publishers were most influential with the state textbook committee and least influential with the board of education. Petitioners, however, were most influential with board members and less influential with the commissioner of education and his staff and with the textbook committee. Sixty-three references are included. (CJH)

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THE POLITICS OF CURRICULUM DECISIONS MANIFESTED THROUGH THE SELECTION AND ADOPTION OF TEXTBOOKS FOR TEXAS

John D. Marshall

National College of Education

1986

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ABSTRACT

Until recently, the three major decisionmaking groups involved in the Texas textbook selection and adoption system were the State Textbook Committee, the Commissioner of Education and his staff, and the State Board of Education. A combination of primary document, survey, and oral history data is employed to reveal the actions of participants in each of these decision groups and their interactions with textbook publishers and textbook petitioners ("protestors") during the evaluation and decision phases of three cases of textbook selection and adoption occurring between the years 1969 and 1981.

The research focuses primarily on two questions: (1) How were textbooks evaluated? and (2) What was the nature and extent, if any, of publisher and petitioner influence on textbook decisionmakers? All three groups used the proclamations (Texas' textbook guidelines) as an important textbook evaluation criterion, but each group interpreted these proclamations differently. Members of the State Textbook Committee and State Board of Education also attended to the books' "organization and presentation of content" and "pedagogical strength." Publishers were most influential with the State Textbook Committee and least influential with members of the board. Petitioners, on the other hand, were most influential with State Board of Education members and less influential with the Commissioner and his staff and with the State Textbook Committee members.

The "insider" view resulting from a liberal use of oral history data is

significant and allows unique pictures of each of the three decision phases of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system to be drawn. The set of generalizations which emerged are of potential value to those interested in curriculum decisionmaking as well as those interested in state policymaking structures.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

> The best textbook adoption system remains unclear, but one thing is certain: Educational policymakers should pay more attention to this critical issue. (Kirst, 1984, p. 23)

The purpose of the present study was to learn how state-level textbook decisions were made in Texas during the period 1969 - 1981. My interest in the subject resulted from an experience I had during my first year as a classroom teacher in Texas. Casually, I volunteered to serve on a committee of three responsibe for choosing middle school social studies textbooks for use in our small, rural, central Texas school district. Shortly after the committee was named, boxes of books began arriving at our school, and each of us took turns reviewing samples of five series from which districts could choose. Each series typically contained one volume each of the teacher's edition, student's edition, and student's workbook along with whatever ancillary materials the company was providing (e.g., spirit masters, overhead projections, and tests). Our committee met with representatives of each publishing company more out of deference than desire. We held our one "official" meeting at which, through compromise and little debate or discussion, we sought a happy medium and arrived at our choice. Official forms were completed and routed to the superintendent, who served as an *ex officio* member of each of the district's textbook committees. At the next school board meeting the superintendent officially recommended each committee's choices. I do not remember any discussion on the part of the school board members; following an "All in favor say aye . . . ," each choice became official.

Upon reflection, I find that this episode appears innocent enough. I recall none of us on the committee expressing dissatisfaction with the relatively small number of titles on the state adoption list from which we could select or wondering what it was about *those* five series that prompted others, at the state level, to select them. My most disturbing memory, however, is that none of us seemed to take this exercise seriously: it was one more job to do for three teachers who had more than enough to do already! We spent a meager amount of time looking at the books and listening to the publishers' representatives and never once raised questions pertaining to "scope-and-sequence," levels of difficulty, or quality of content. We found each book more-or-less acceptable, and though we used no conscious "system" of evaluation or decisionmaking, in the end, we arrived, through compromise, at a concensus.

A process similar to the one in which I participated takes place throughout almost all Texas school districts annually. It is the last in a series of steps which constitute the Texas textbook selection and adoption system. My personal recollection of my involvement is offered as a point of departure for the research that follows. I realize, now, that my work in the decision to adopt social studies textbooks was nothing to be proud of;

that I should have directed more effort toward a critical analysis of each book, had important concerns to discuss with each publisher's representative, and in the end, felt some assurance that some series were preferable to others. Instead, I engaged that task in a desultory fashion, believing, among other things, that the "important" issues involving content and pedagogy had been seen to by the decisionmakers at the state level, those who had selected and adopted five series from the unknown number available for adoption. Like most classroom teachers, I suspect, I had learned to take textbooks for granted.[1] There seemed no reason to measure the books against district or state curricula because textbooks had become my "curriculum-in-use."[2] And there certainly seemed no need to raise questions about the state-level curriculum policy decisions that resulted in the "short list" of books from which we made our selections, for those decisions involved an unknown, enormous number of people -- many of whom surely were acknowledged experts -- who spent a great deal of time making sure that the five titles from which we could choose were the "best" books available. Anyway, I had more important things to worry about, the most important being my classroom full of students.

But I began to question these beliefs and assumptions as the years passed and my professional grounding became stronger through scholarship and deeper understanding. In an effort to learn more about how those decisions were arrived at, I questioned people who had taken part in Texas' selection and adoption of textbooks. Grand gossip concerning kickbacks and collusion was rare, but virtually every tale reflected some concern over the "low-profile politics" or just plain whimsy surrounding state textbook decisions.[3] Although most teachers and administrators with whom I talked seemed to have a story about the state's selection and adoption of textbooks, no one was exactly sure how these decisions were made.[4] Ignorance reigned regarding this aspect of Texas schooling.

Statement of the Problem

Assuming that textbook decisions are to be based on careful evaluation, and assuming that in practice, textbook decisions are tantamount to curriculum decisions, then I am not surprised that most professionals concerned with such decisionmaking prescribe a strategy to guide this "deliberate, explicit process." Such prescriptions, though they may differ in their specific procedures, generally call for a series of actions which exemplify a rational decisionmaking process -- what Lindblom calls the "synoptic ideal" (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1963). A typical example of such a strategy, offered by Forehand (1970), includes:

Identifying goals
Formulating decision rules
Constructing measuring instrument
Collecting and analyzing data
Making decision

However, in the case of textbook decisions, goals are difficult if not impossible to articulate (Brown, 1972), and decision rules are often imposed by bureaucratic structure (Phipps, 1984). Measuring instruments usually note only the books' most quantitative aspects (e.g., number of males and females portrayed or average number of syllables in words) while neglecting to consider other more difficult to measure features such as their alignment with a state's testing instruments (Kirst, 1984). Finally, collecting and analyzing data are practices typically constrained by time and commitment (Perrin, 1984). Making textbook decisions, therefore, cannot be characterized as being wholly rational.

Kirst & Walker (1971) provided an early explanation of how most curriculum policies are decided. Adapting an argument first presented by Lindblom (1959) and later fully developed in *A Strategy of Decision* (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1963), Kirst & Walker examined circumstances which prevent the use of a rational strategy for curriculum/textbook decisions. They suggested, as have others (e.g., Elboim-Dror, 1970; Mosher & Wagoner, 1978), that curriculum decisionmakers necessarily adopt a strategy which Lindblom first dubbed "muddling through" and later developed as "disjointed incrementalism."[5] The strategy is employed in situations in which the cost of analysis (in terms of time and money), the availability of information, and the capacities of the decisionmakers are such that a more rational strategy is impossible. It is specifically suited to decisions which are made on the basis of inadequately formulated values, a circumstance which ultimately leads to conflict among participants. Adopting Kirst & Walker's analysis, an investigator looking into Texas' statewide textbook selection and adoption decisions should find a system with

> a great deal of latitude for deliberation and for complicated political processes to resolve conflicts of values among various groups and individuals. . . . resolved through low profile politics . . . [and] a considerable amount of overt political interaction. (Kirst & Walker, 1971, p. 487)

Such overt and covert political interaction would come as no surprise to those who study policymaking, most of whom claim a need to focus their investigations on the influence among and between participants, and the concomitant issues, for example, control and power, such a focus would enable (see Dahl, 1976; Mann, 1977). Studied in this fashion, a system would likely be characterized as producing "decision by mutual accommodation" (Kaufman, 1963, p. 107).

All policymaking systems may indeed be constructed along recognizable lines of power and control, but it does not necessarily follow that power and control are major determinants in all policy decisions. In the same year that Kirst & Walker published their oft-quoted analysis of curriculum policymaking, Gail Saliterman completed a study of decisionmaking which had textbook adoption as its focus. Acknowledging the "classical" relational concepts of power and control dominant in similar studies, she designed her research to allow for "other possible explanations of how and why the decision-making process in school systems operates as it does" (Saliterman, 1971, p. 16). Her findings, while supporting disjointed incrementalism as an adequate explanation of *how* textbook decisions, at least at the local level, are reached, differ entirely, however, with regard to *why* they are reached as they are.

> [W]hile incrementalism is usually thought to be the result of the competition among differing potential interests, this study suggests . . . [that] . . . policies, rules, formulas, and procedures are not taken by everybody as inviolable because they are ruthlessly enforced by political coalitions but precisely because there is no motivating force to act otherwise. (Saliterman, 1971, pp. 262-263)

Saliterman's conclusions, coupled with a similar theoretical argument presented by Spalding (1955), indicate that perhaps the strongest influence among and between participants in a decisionmaking system is the "impersonal power" exerted by the system itself.

Several formal studies exist which are related to decisionmaking aspects of state-level textbook acquisition in Texas. Patrick (1949) analyzed Texas' legal provisions for selecting and adopting textbooks. Her work proved timely, coming as it did during a period of popular state educational reform in Texas. Some of the very changes she suggested can be found in today's system. Piasecki (1982) provided a historical account of the development and causes of Mel and Norma Gabler's involvement in the Texas textbook system. Last (1984) analyzed petitioners' complaints directed at three major literature series being offered for adoption in Texas, concluding, among other things, that petitioners' activities could be defined as censorship. None, however, have inquired into the processes by which textbook decisions are actually made.

Significance of the Study

Few have attempted to describe the activities of state-level textbook decisionmakers (see Courtland, et al., 1983). Still, twenty-two states continue this practice in some form, and while each is unique, the Texas system certainly contains practices and/or philosophies in use elsewhere. In this study, I describe how some of these more general practices and beliefs were perceived by the participants themselves; how, for example, citizen participation and information became remarkably routine, prompting many for whose benefit it was intended to dismiss such activities as a practical waste of their time.

One might rightfully question the value of studying a system which has undergone significant changes over the past five years. Nevertheless, I believe the study can be useful to three distinct audiences in a number of ways, a few of which are identified.

The General Public

Texas textbook selection and adoption has been an emotionally charged topic for decades. Those interested in the public education of young Texans have here a rather detailed description of how textbooks have been selected and adopted for use by their children. The account is intended to emphasize the variety and depth of many activities which still take place within the selection and adoption procedure and provide a balance to the typical public exposure which, in large part, consists of media-emphasized public hearings. Kimbrough (1964, p. 158) said that "The general public is typically quite unaware of the true source of power in basic policy decision-making." After reading my account, members of the general public may decide for themselves whether or not their participation (as petitioners or through private contacts with decisionmakers) has been a valuable resource for decisionmakers in the past. Perhaps this work will be useful to those who may wish to make significant contributions in the future.

Texas Educators

Changes in the system notwithstanding, those professionals who populate Texas' schools, service centers, and district administrative offices continue to comprise perhaps the most important decisionmaking body within the system. Regardless of recent or future system reform, I have found a strong belief among my respondent groups in the value of Texas public school educators playing such an integral role in state textbook decisions. In my opinion, this study will enable educators to see how their classroom "tools" have been selected in the past, and to determine for themselves whether or not changes in the manner and degree of their participation, as decisionmakers or advisors at the state or district level, can improve the quality of both decisions and textbooks.

Texas Policymakers

Since 1982, the system for selection and adoption of textbooks in Texas has undergone considerable change -- all attempts at gradually refurbishing a procedure established at mid-century. To date, initial recommendation by Texas educators, careful review by Agency staff, formal adoption by the State Board of Education, and commentary from publishers and petitioners remain as important factors. Comprised in large part of interview and survey data, the study tells how some of the state's textbook decisionmakers have interacted in the past.

Beyond its possible benefit to those within the state of Texas, the study should be helpful to scholars and others concerned with curriculum policymaking and its attendant practices. To my knowledge, it stands alone as a carefully constructed set of generalizations arising from multiple case studies of state-level textbook selection and adoption. Oral history recollections from all key participant groups provide authoritative elaboration of survey and historical data, data which seek to inform us of how a large policymaking system operates as well as how textbook decisions are made.

The Present Study

In this study, I explored the state-level evaluation and decision phases of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system. The study was a historical one, incorporating print, survey, and interview data pertinent to three cases of selection and adoption which took place during the system's most stable years, 1969 - 1981.

Investigating a topic such as this required a qualitative research approach, "one that emphasizes inductive analysis, description, and the study of people's perceptions" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. xii). Its conceptual framework was borrowed in large part from Mazzoni & Campbell's (1976) study of "influentials" in state policymaking. A major strength of the study is its generous use of oral-history data within the body of the report itself. Sears (1984) was quite successful in his use of abundant interview passages to both illuminate the rationale underlying much of his analysis and create a sense of personal recognition between the principals and the reader. My liberal use of these data marks a significant departure from the mainstream tendency to collect and use oral data without providing the reader with any of their true flavor in the final research report (see, for example, Courtland, et al., 1983; Piasecki, 1982). Data collection, which began in the summer of 1984, followed a three-stage design and was completed in April, 1985. The resulting report yields implications for research and policy in the areas of educational politics and curriculum policymaking as well as in the process of state textbook selection and adoption.

Definition of Terms

Throughout the work, certain terms and phrases which warrant definition are used repeatedly. These include:

Textbook

Dessaur provides the definition used by the Association of American Publishers: ". . . hard-cover and soft-cover textbooks, workbooks, textbook-related tests, manuals, maps, and similar items all intended for classroom use and equipped with specific pedagogical features which distinguish them from consumer-oriented materials . . . . The industry refers to producers of these materials as 'elhi' publishers" (1974, p. 21).

The Texas Education Statute defines textbooks as "books, systems of instructional materials, or combinations of books and supplementary instructional materials which convey information to the pupil or otherwise contribute to the learning process" (Sec. 12.01[c], 1983). Within this study, *textbooks* denotes both a single book (e.g., a high school economics book) and a series of books purchased together to be used in a prescribed sequence (e.g., an elementary social studies series of books for use in grades 1-6). The textbooks under study here are those designed for use in public elementary and secondary schools. In the interests of readability, the terms *textbooks, books, texts,* and *schoolbooks* are used interchangeably.

Textbook Selection

Within the system under study, textbook selection means the procedure and those decisions to include or exclude a book from a list of books which ultimately will be formally adopted by the State Board of Education (purchased by the state) for use in Texas' public schools.

Textbook Adoption

Within the system under study, textbook adoption is the set of formal decisions of the State Board of Education to adopt books for Texas schools. (This set of decisions excludes those decisions which result in the removal of books from recommended lists, since these are understood to come under the heading of selection decisions.) Adopted texts are those purchased with state funds and permitted to be made available for use in school districts throughout the state.

Key Participants

Key participants are those individuals who hold a position or role of major significance during their participation in some act. In this study, key participants are those persons or groups who take an active and officially sanctioned role in the state's textbook selection and adoption procedure. These include three groups of decisionmakers (members of the State Textbook Committee [STC], State Board of Education [SBE], and the Commissioner of Education and his curriculum staff at the Texas Education Agency [TEA]) and two groups of non-decisionmakers (petitioners and publishers). While I acknowledge the integral role played by numerous others (the most predominantly important group would appear to be the hundreds of people who act as advisors to STC members), to maintain a workable focus I found it necessary to limit key participants to those noted above.

Publishers

For the purposes of this study, the term "publishers" refers to members of the elementary and high school (elhi) textbook publishing industry. The term is used to denote anyone connected with the Texas textbook procedure who has a vested financial interest in any of the books considered for adoption. This includes publishing executives, editors, authors, regional managers, field representatives, consultants, and anyone else paid to represent books under consideration. Those familiar with the industry know that the differences among these positions is so great that the definition has little value beyond categorization. I, too, am aware of this yet elect to leave it as such so as not to jeopardize the anonymity of those within the industry who consented to participate in my research.

Policymaking

Policymaking is defined as "The authoritative decision to advance one outcome over another . . ." (McNeil, 1981, p. 296).

Politics

"[T]he set of interactions that influence and shape the authoritative allocation of values . . ." (Scribner & Englert, 1977, p. 22).

Scope of the Study

This study did not attempt to represent or in any way compare state-level textbook decisions in Texas over a given span of time. Separate petitioner hearings before decisionmaking groups became a staple aspect of the system in 1969. Since 1982, however, significant procedural alterations have taken place (e.g., there are no longer three decisionmaking phases, both proponents and opponents of books may now participate, and "Bills of Particulars" are no longer required to be filed by petitioners). The period between 1969 and 1981, then, was a relatively stable period *vis a vis* the system's major steps, the number of key participants, and the activities and interactions of these participants. Multiple case studies were selected which fell within this stable period, with no attempt to represent any particular year, phenomenon (e.g., the "back to basics" movement), or period (e.g., the Viet Nam War years).

This study did not attempt to address issues regularly associated with centralized textbook selection and adoption such as (1) control of textbook content (censorship), (2) the motivations, intentions, and activities of non-decisionmakers (publishers and special interest groups usually capture the greatest interest here), or (3) textbook quality. These issues were examined only as they related to the activities of the participants under study.

I do not contend that what I found will be true of participants who carry-out similar roles in the other "adoption states." Nor do I speculate that my findings are true for all key participants with active annual roles in the system between 1969 and 1981. The data used in this research were gathered from a well-defined set of groups who participated during only three of those years.

The degree of specificity of these data to my particular cases studied may be debatable in the case of permanent members of the state's educational governance structure who participated for many years (e.g., one State Board member participated in these textbook decisions for 34 years, and a number of TEA personnel have been with the agency since the 1960s) or in the case of publishers and petitioners, some of whom have participated annually for almost 25 years. Information provided by these veterans may actually represent generalized perceptions of their cumulative experiences.

Questions of the Study

Major Focus Questions

The general research question was, "How were decisions made within the state-level textbook selection and adoption system in Texas between 1969 and 1981?" Specifically, I asked

1. How were textbooks evaluated?
    (a) What role did the state's textbook guidelines (proclamations) play in each group's assessments?
    (b) What additional criteria, procedures and information were used by decisionmakers and advisors in their selections?

2. What was the nature and extent of influence (if any) on these decision groups resulting from the participation of the non-decision groups (petitioners and publishers)?

These questions provided focus and direction in data collection and analyses. However, I expected additional questions to arise as the investigation progressed. This expectation resulted from the nature of qualitative research methodology, from the continuous development of my data base, and from my own development as a researcher.

Related Questions

The following additional questions emerged and were included in the data collection. Rationale for their inclusion is explained in Chapter Two.

1. What could be learned about the construction of the State Textbook Committee, whose members were selected anew each year to participate in the system on behalf of the state?
   - (a) Who was selected to serve on the State Textbook Committee, and what criteria were used in their selections?
   - (b) Who served as advisors to these committee members, and what criteria were used in their selection?

2. What can be said about the degree to which decision groups (at least the textbook committee and State Board) acted on the recommendations of their constituencies or their advisors?

3. What can be learned about the nature of the procedure as it relates to the acquisition of public school textbooks for Texas?
   - (a) Did the system succeed in providing the "best books?"
   - (b) What did the participants see as the system's strengths and weaknesses?
   - (c) What other functions might the system serve?

These questions and related areas of interest strike at the heart of statewide textbook selection and adoption. Developed, in part, from the interests of former participants, they not only guided the data collection but were useful in providing a consistent format for their presentation.

Summary

In this chapter, I have described my motivation for conducting research into the area of state-level textbook decisions, explained how such a study might prove useful for practitioners and scholars, and outlined this study's terms and limitations. In Chapter Two, I describe how both my focus and related questions evolved during the literature review and the preliminary stage of the study. In Chapter Three, I provide a detailed explanation of the procedures used to explore these questions. In Chapter Four I present data from the case studies, and in Chapter Five I present generalizations and suggestions for further research.

NOTES

1. This point was bluntly made by the American Textbook Publishers Institute more than 35 years ago: When (you) "stop the supply of textbooks you will discover how indispensable teachers consider them" (ATPI, 1949, p. 3). Reports of textbook decisionmaking similar to my experience include Perrin (1984) and Taylor (1969).

2. I do not mean to suggest that the terms "curriculum" and "textbook" are synonymous. My argument is that textbook decisions become curriculum decisions because textbooks have become what Beauchamp (1983, p. 21) describes as a "substitute" for the curriculum. Tanner & Tanner (1980) provide us with a strong definition of curriculum as being "that reconstruction of knowledge and experiences, systematically developed under the auspices of the school (or university), to enable the learner to increase his or her control of knowledge and experience" (p. 43). Conceptually, this is a far cry from curriculum being a book and/or set of materials purchased from a commercial publisher. Nevertheless, these authors later suggest how this "reconstruction of knowledge and experiences" has taken form: "Historically, the textbook has been the key medium through which leading scholars have organized subject matter for instruction. . . .The textbook together with the supplementary materials constituted what came to be referred to as a 'curriculum package'" (Tanner & Tanner, 1980, p. 546). In1969, a report to the Governor of Texas ("Governor's Committee," 1969) noted that 75 percent of students' classroom time and 90 percent of their homework time was spent using

textbooks. Since then, at least four major studies have underscored the significance of the textbook as the fundamental source of curriculum (Saylor, 1982, pp. 11-12), noting that use-estimates had risen during the 1970s (Jackson, 1981, p. 9; FitzGerald, 1981, p. 49; English, 1980). No matter how one chooses to define "curriculum," it appears that educators' practicing definition of curriculum-in-use is *textbook*

The following passage, though lengthy, is offered as an example of the point argued here. It is taken from *A Case Study of the Indiana State Reading Textbook Adoption Process*(Courtland et al., 1983) and shows, most convincingly, the practical viewpoint of textbooks as curriculum:

> It is quite possible that this group of people [textbook reviewers] was the most significant group determining the reading curriculum for the state since the selection of textbooks in reading is tantamount to the selection of a reading curriculum. This point may be refuted with the statement that the texts are selected to reflect the curriculum which has been previously adopted. While this may be a valid argument in the abstract, it is not a valid argument in reality. The reviewers seldom referred to local school curriculum objectives in describing their selection procedures. They seemed to use personal opinions regarding the components of an adequate reading curriculum and opinions of fellow teachers regarding ease of use of the various reading texts. There is little question that these reviewers were not matching books to curriculum objectives, but rather they were adopting a reading curriculum. That is, they reviewed the books from

> the point of view of selecting a curriculum that they wanted to use in their classrooms . . .

3. "Low profile politics" is a phrase used by Kirst & Walker (1971, p. 487) in describing how value conflicts surrounding curriculum decisions are resolved. This and other concepts tied to curriculum policy decisions are elaborated on in Chapter Two. The term "whimsy" was used by publishers in several of my conversations and interviews with them during the process of inquiry.

4. The actual processes or interactions which constitute the Texas textbook selection and adoption system are clearly identified each year in the calendar of events distributed to publishers and included in the minutes of the State Board of Education (See, for example, Texas Education Agency [1981, March, pp. 51-62]). I found, however, that questions such as "How are people selected to serve on the State Textbook Committee?" or "What sorts of evaluations precede decisions by the State Board of Education to delete a book from a list?" were either unanswerable or were answered on the basis of presumption by former decisionmakers in the process. Posing questions such as these -- pertaining directly to the decisions made within this system -- allows us to peer into the "black boxes" nestled at the heart of the Texas system. The need for a study such as mine was recently expressed by the Former Chairman of the Texas State Board of Education himself ("Textbook selection . . .", 1983), but an official study never materialized.

5. The major features of disjointed incrementalism, in the words of Kirst & Walker, include the following:

> (a) acceptance of the broad outlines of the existing situation with only marginal changes contemplated, (b) consideration of a restricted variety of policy alternatives excluding those entailing radical change, (c) consideration of a restricted number of consequences for any given policy, (d) adjustment of objectives to policies as well as policies to objectives, (e) willingness to formulate the problem as data becomes available, and (f) serial analysis and piecemeal alterations rather than a single comprehensive attack. In short, curriculum decision-makers use informal methods of decision-making. (Kirst & Walker, 1971, p. 485)

CHAPTER TWO

Background of the Study

In America, public education has never existed without its politics. (Iannaccone & Lutz, 1967, p. 160)

Invisible politics is rarely good politics. (Bailey, et al., 1962, p. x)

Clearly, the predominant process for educational change is political. (Scribner, 1977, p. xi)

If the [1949 Gilmer-Aikin] bill becomes a law [in Texas], it is the hope of those supporting it that many of the practices inherent in the present structure will be eradicated. . . . and that the textbook business will be removed from political maneuvering.
(Patrick, 1949, p. 165)

Chapter Two represents my attempt to describe what some might call the framework or plan of the study. My intent, here, is to provide the reader with a better understanding of how I was led to ask the questions which I did. It cannot be called a review of the literature, for practically no research exists on the subject of state-level textbook selection and adoption in general or Texas textbook selection and adoption in particular.

This is not to suggest that "the literature" has not been carefully reviewed; on the contrary, studies helpful in providing direction for this work are liberally cited throughout the chapter. However, major research responsible for defining the boundries of this study does not yet exist.

As much as the available research helped me to clarify my research plan, talking with present and former participants in the Texas textbook selection and adoption procedure proved even more valuable. Throughout this chapter, reference is made to these discussions and interviews as "preliminary" because they took place before my formal data-gathering actually began (see Chapter Three). Most of these preliminary encounters with textbook participants were tape-recorded, and in many cases (particularly with publishers), respondents requested confidentiality. Respecting these requests has resulted in my use of overly-general identification of interview respondents (e.g., one veteran publisher, or one former SBE member) in many cases. Also, all oral data are cited by tape recording number (e.g., Tape no. 16) as opposed to a page number. Complete, formal transcriptions of the nearly sixty taped interviews were economically impossible for me to secure. Nevertheless, each tape-recording was carefully listened to at least twice (and in some instances, three times), and hand-written transcriptions of all data pertinent to the questions of the study were done for each tape. An independent validity check of the oral data used in this study can be found in Appendix W.

The chapter begins with an overview of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system, eventually describing its "stable period." It continues through a discussion of the politics of educational decisions, resting with the politics of Texas textbook decisions. It is within that section that the major and related questions of this study are introduced and explained.

Overview: The Texas Textbook Selection and Adoption System

The Texas textbook selection and adoption system is one of the numerous decisionmaking "islands" of the Texas state educational governance structure. The system under study was created during the state's educational reform movement of the late 1940s as a regulatory activity of the larger governance body (Anderson, 1984). My focus for this study is on those aspects of the system designed to screen, select, and formally adopt textbooks at the state level.

Legal Basis of the Texas Textbook System

Texas is one of 22 states with one type of centralized textbook adoption system or another (Whorton, 1976). Its *legislative basis* called for a variety of participants to arrive at textbook decisions within the following multi-phased structure:

Phase one: Initial selection. A group of 15 active Texas educators, the majority of whom must be classroom teachers, received a one-time appointment to the State Textbook Committee (STC). This committee was charged with reviewing all books submitted by publishers in each of the subject areas under consideration. Since there was a large number of subject areas (approximately one-sixth of all subjects taught in Texas elementary and secondary schools received new books each year) and dozens of books in each, the STC members enlisted the aid of advisory groups with competence in each subject area. Committee members and their advisory groups spent their summers meeting with publishers and reviewing and evaluating books.[1] In September (usually), the appointed committee met in formal session to choose the best books (usually five) in each of the subject areas under consideration (five algebra books, five basal reading series, etc.). These lists of books were then formally recommended to the Commissioner of Education.

Phase two: Texas Education Agency review. Books recommended by the State Textbook Committee were carefully screened during the Fall by curriculum experts at the Texas Education Agency (TEA) and the Commissioner of Education. During this phase, publishers whose books had been recommended could be asked to make certain corrections, additions, and/or deletions to their books. The Commissioner could remove as many as three books from any given list of five, but he could not add books. When these reviews were completed and his decisions (if any) to delete books were made, the Commissioner then formally presented his lists of recommended books to the State Board of Education (SBE) for adoption at their November meeting.

Phase three: State Board review and adoption. Books recommended by the Commissioner were reviewed and discussed by the State Board membership. This body could ask for content changes and could also decide to remove books from any list so long as at least two remained in each subject area. They could not add books to any list. After making those decisions (if any), they would vote to formally adopt those lists of books from which districts throughout the state would select for use in their schools.

This multi-phase decisionmaking system, as a "sub-system" of the larger state educational governance structure, reflected the desire to balance certain values represented by its three decisionmaking groups, a design born in the early years of this country's nationhood and reaching maturity in the early years of this century.[2]

> In the evolution of the structure of state and local governments in the United States, there is discernable a search especially for an accommodation among three values (or objectives): representativeness; technical, nonpartisan competence [also called neutral competence]; and leadership. The first refers to the demand for election of public officials by some (at first) or many (later) or virtually all (a twentieth-century innovation) adult citizens over whom the officials exercise jurisdiction. The second refers to the demand for officials having training and experience qualifying them for the jobs they do, and to the insistence that their official decisions and actions be based on technical and professional considerations rather than on partisan political premises. The third refers to the demand that the actions and decisions of officials be coordinated at some central point so that government programs are reasonably consistent and efficient. These are not the only values our governmental machinery was planned to maximize, but in shaping that

> machinery they have become so salient that the institutions and procedures introduced into state and local governments at different stages of history, and now so familiar to us, can usefully be portrayed primarily in these terms. (Kaufman, 1963, p. 34)

We can see this pattern of values in the system designed to select and adopt textbooks for Texas. We can also see how the system's bureaucratic design acted as a series of "checks and balances" with regard to the flow of decision power. In the first phase, professional practitioners -- representing "neutral competence" -- bore the heaviest workload as they sifted through large numbers of textbook offerings in search of the best "tools" for their trade. Their decisions were then subject to approval by the Commissioner of Education -- representing "executive leadership" -- whose concerns included those of cost and uniformity of materials (based upon guidelines, called "proclamations," developed by the TEA and adopted by the SBE). But even the Commissioner was subject to the higher authority of the State Board of Education -- characterizing "representativeness" -- which acted on behalf of the public at large. Ideally, such a system brings together information from all who might have an "affected interest" in textbook decisions: educators in the field, state educational administrators, and the general public (van Geel, 1976).

System Adjustments

Though the design was sound in principle, it proved wanting in practice. J. W. Edgar, Texas' first Commissioner of Education, explained to me how the 1950s and 1960s brought statewide commotion to the system of textbook selection and adoption. Annually, special interest groups brought, directly to him, protests against specific textbook content, certain textbook authors, and occasionally, entire textbooks (Tape no. 3).[3]

In 1961, during the eleventh year of its operation, the procedure underwent a significant change. Concerned citizens could formally become a part of the initial decisionmaking phase by filing what were called "Bills of Particular." These "Bills" called attention to aspects of any submitted book(s) which the citizen (hereafter referred to as a petitioner) found suspect or plainly unacceptable based upon what the state had called for in its textbook guidelines or proclamations. Publishers of the protested books were expected to respond to these criticisms in writing. These Bills of Particular and publishers' responses were then bound and made available to members of the STC for their consideration. Prior to making initial selections, the State Textbook Committee held a public hearing at which time those petitioners who filed "Bills" were given an opportunity to verbalize their discontent. Publishers received equal time. It must be underscored that this alteration in the initial system resulted from an active and vocal minority of individuals and groups (e.g., the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, and the John Birch Society) dissatisfied with books being adopted for Texas schools. As a result of this activism, and in part, perhaps, because of the fear of undue influence by publishers, the inclusion of this formal, public participation specified that only persons finding fault with textbooks were permitted to take part in this process. These people eventually became known as textbook protestors.

Having formal access to the initial decision phase did not satisfy petitioners for long. In cases in which the STC selected books that had received strong protest, petitioners sought an appeal before the Commissioner (who had the power to remove books from the recommended lists). The regularity of such appeals, the strong sense of responsibility felt by then Commissioner J. W. Edgar, and a growing public awareness of school textbooks, fired, in large part, by a group calling itself Texans for America, led to the addition of a second public hearing.[4] This hearing was held by the Commissioner of Education and those on the curriculum staff responsible for reviewing books recommended by the STC. Petitioners who had previously entered into the procedure by filing Bills and who had spoken before the textbook committee were allowed to present their cases, again. Frequent petitioners learned quickly that, while the Commissioner may be likely to remove an occasional book or call for an occasional change, the lists forwarded by the STC remained largely intact. Dissatisfied petitioners then could appeal to the State Board itself.

Although some petitioners regularly appealed the commissioner's decisions before the State Board of Education, their appeals were brief and more a matter of protocol courtesy than procedural formality. By 1969, these appeals had gained enough stature and legitimacy to warrant a special, called session by the SBE the day before its formal textbook adoption decisions (Texas Education Agency, 1970, January). There is no record of the discussion or debate which led to this decision by the board, but it is logical to assume that the petitioners felt they had achieved several victories. First, they had succeeded in obtaining a specially-called meeting which provided them with a formal hearing before an elected body of non-educators, ones representing not only the people of the state but having no professional or ideological ties with the educational establishment or "liberal publishers." Second, the State Board had the "last word" on which books would be used in Texas schools. While presenting agruments to the STC and the Commissioner was probably not seen as a waste of time, petitioners must have realized that the final-decision phase, controlled by citizens not unlike themselves, was the place where they might realize their strongest victories.[5]

The Stable Years

Over the years, the individual hearings before the STC and Commissioner were collapsed into a single hearing and the hearing before the State Board has remained. Until 1982, only those *protesting* books took part as petitioners and only publishers or their representatives could speak in favor of (or defend) books. Through the efforts of People for the American Way, that practice was legally changed to permit both opponents and proponents of textbooks to speak at these hearings.[6] Since that time, additional changes have taken place which have altered the system significantly, including the removal of what I have identified as the second decisionmaking phase (the Commissioner is no longer permitted to recommend changes in or remove textbooks from the lists forwarded by the STC). But the Texas textbook selection and adoption system remained relatively "stable" during the years 1969 - 1981, with three decision groups carrying out their responsibilities and two non-decisionmaking groups allowed to participate at each decision phase. It is that system and those key participants which I have selected for study.

The Politics of Educational Decisions

Making Educational Decisions

Because schooling in the United States is largely an individual state matter, each state has passed legislation to provide and conduct schools. Most states, like Texas, have created an educational governance structure made up of a State Department of Education (in Texas, this is the Texas Education Agency -- TEA), a Chief State School Officer (the Commissioner of Education, in Texas), and an elected or appointed State Board of Education. This structure is charged with a variety of tasks, most of which are routine and regulatory in nature.[7]

Research into state educational administration identified many of these structures (including the educational governance structure of Texas) as monolithic in nature (Wirt & Kirst, 1972a). Despite the inclusion of a State Board made up of non-educators,these structures (at the local and state levels), according to Iannaccone & Lutz (1967, p. 99), were characterized as "closed systems," best suited to "the politics of the priestcraft as practiced by pedagogues" working to avoid conflict and realize consensus (Boyd, 1976; Murphy, 1982; Peterson, 1974).[8] Those who studied such structures frequently found that members of boards of education had little power or influence in educational decisions and were seen to "rubber stamp" such decisions in deference to the educational leadership.[9]

With the onset of a growing public awareness toward all things educational during the 1960s and into the 1970s, this situation has changed (Scribner & Englert, 1977; Wirt, 1976). Increasingly, the structures for state educational governance and the regulatory activities they perform have become more open and, consequently, more controversial (Bowles, 1968; Thompson, 1976). Opening up or externalizing these decision procedures illuminated the inherently political nature of decisions in which a few attempt to authoritatively allocate values and resources for the many (Boyd, 1976; Wirt, 1976; Wirt & Kirst, 1972b). Even areas which for years remained almost exclusively within the purview of professional educators (e.g., curriculum and textbook decisions) now produce frequent conflict (Mann, 1974; Peterson, 1974; Sroufe, 1977).

Making Curriculum Decisions

We can see that even a study of routine educational decisions such as those made during the perennial state-level adoption of textbooks in Texas is a study of politics when politics is defined as "the set of interactions that influence and shape the authoritative allocation of values" (Scribner & Englert, 1977, p. 22). In the past several decades, structures designed for these purposes have become more "open" in their attempts to satisfy the differing values of those with a stake in their outcomes (Sroufe, 1977). This certainly has been true in all areas of education, beginning with early decisions regarding school integration. While most investigations into educational administration have focused on matters of school finance and school autonomy (Peterson, 1974), not until the early 1970s was attention seriously directed to the political nature of curriculum decisions.

One responsibility of the state educational governance structure is the making of curriculum policy (Kirst, 1981; van Geel, 1976). This is a regulatory activity which is typically handled through a sub-structure or sub-system of the larger state educational architecture (what Kaufman [1963] called a decisionmaking "island")[10] and involves decisions regarding course content and course offerings. Regardless of how these "islands" are structured

> The inevitability of conflicting demands, wants, and needs is responsible for the necessarily political character of curriculum policy-making, a character which cannot be avoided even by the adoption of some mathematical decision-procedure. Some legitimate authority must decide (and perhaps bargain and compromise) among the conflicting policy viewpoints. (Kirst & Walker, 1971, p. 481)

In Texas, as in most states, major curriculum conflicts of this sort were rare in comparison to those fought over the manifestations of those curriculum decisions -- textbooks. Social studies can be seen as a case in point. Until recently, Texas had what were called "curriculum frameworks" for each subject area. These were brief, loosely worded documents designed to identify what topics or concepts needed to be covered at each grade level or in each course. The materials used to achieve these goals were textbooks, and the manner in which the books were used was left largely to local schools and individual teachers.

The right of the state of Texas to decide in the early 1970s to provide textbooks for the teaching of social studies in the beginning grades was not contested by citizen groups or State Board members; what became political were the materials used to accomplish these goals. Which of our global neighbors would be introduced to our children? What will they learn about their own country, and how much of that instruction will include issues concerning race, class, gender, and age?

Even instructional questions became political: Is asking a group of students what they think about the Cultural Revolution in China truly an invasion of their privacy? Questions about what content will be taught and how it should be taught became value concerns which pertained to textbooks -- perhaps the most valued resource in public education. And they are questions which the state of Texas has always attempted to address, explicitly or tacitly, within its centralized textbook selection and adoption procedure.

The Decisionmaking Strategy

Kirst & Walker's (1971) early analysis of curriculum policymaking was apparently the first time that curriculum analysts had admitted that curriculum (and textbook) decisions are seldom made under perfect conditions. They recognized that a truly rational decisionmaking process was out of the question in such matters; instead, curriculum decisions are arrived at through the use of a strategy known as disjointed incrementalism (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1963). This strategy was later explained by Dale Mann in his work entitled *Policy Decision-Making in Education* (1975, p. 158):

> The idea of incrementalism is a favorite one among social scientists, and refers to the fact that most changes are relatively small and affect only the edges or margins of existing activities. The "disjointed" feature of disjointed incrementalism calls attention to the many disparate and relatively uncoordinated influences and phases that characterize most decisions. Thus disjointed incrementalism stresses the haphazard interaction through which most policy decisions come to affect relatively small parts of the problem situation.

Disjointed incrementalism, according to Lindblom, provides several important benefits to the decisionmaking situation. Unlike the ideal notion of rational decisionmaking (which is impossible to operationalize), this strategy reduces the demands made upon the intellectual capacities of its participants, reduces the need for information, and limits the overall cost of policy analysis. In addition, it is particularly well-suited to decisions which must be made based upon inadequately formulated values, and serves to provide persons involved with the chance to recognize and share their common culture (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1963).

Armed with this awareness, researchers who sought to investigate the making of curriculum policy (and textbook) decisions could expect to find that

> curriculum decisions are not based on quantitative decision techniques or even on a geat deal of objective data. This leaves a great deal of latitude for deliberation and for complicated political processes to resolve conflicts of values among various groups and individuals. . . .[T]hese value conflicts are resolved through low profile politics, but even so, there is a considerable amount of overt political interaction. (Kirst & Walker, 1971, p. 487)

I have attempted to show how the Texas textbook selection and adoption system can be understood as a regulatory procedure of the state's educational governance structure charged with authoritatively allocating resources (textbooks) to the state's public schools. Based upon the principle of "affected interests," this annual task is shared by three groups of decisionmakers reflecting different values and representing different constituencies (Wirt, 1976). The stable years of the system under study here also included the contributions at each decisionmaking stage of two groups of non-decisionmakers, publishers and petitioners, who were stakeholders of a different sort in these decisions. This system is described as political because of the interactions among and between these groups in their attempts to shape decision outcomes.

The Texas textbook procedure was an "open" one compared to what researchers found to be the case in early studies of educational governance. It was well and carefully designed by law, and its participants, with the exception of the State Textbook Committee, which consisted of 15 new members each year, became practiced, over the years, in its processes. Nevertheless, certain aspects of the system could be described as "black box" phenomena, that is, processes in which one only knows what goes into the box and what comes out of the box without the benefit of understanding what took place within the box itself.

Because disjointed incrementalism is incorporated as the strategy for arriving at decisions within this system, any hope of gaining some understanding of the political processes inherent in those decisions is complicated, "since informal [decisionmaking] methods are more complex, diffuse, and irregular" (Kirst & Walker, 1971, p. 485).

The Politics of Texas Textbook Decisions

Major Questions of the Study

As I asserted previously, policy decisions which involve interactions among multiple groups reflecting different values and representing differing constituencies are, by definition, political in nature. I have also argued that textbook decisions, particularly at the state level, are tantamount to curriculum policy decisions. The structure in which these decisions are made, the participants responsible for making them, the existing constraints (e.g., time, funds), and the incremental nature of textbook selection all serve to force decisionmakers into using a less-than-rational strategy for making their selections (Grandori, 1984; Lindblom, 1965; Mann, 1974). Although these decisions are arrived at in fairly open, well-defined processes, there are aspects of state-level textbook selection and adoption that remain "hidden" and worthy of investigation. Two of these little-understood aspects comprise the focal questions of my study: (1) How were textbooks actually evaluated; and (2) What was the nature and extent of influence, if any, on decisionmakers by those non-decision groups participating in the procedure -- publishers and petitioners?

How were textbooks evaluated? The system itself (as described earlier) and the incorporation of disjointed incrementalism as the strategy for decisionmaking, provide us with a background of what we might expect to find in an attempt to answer the question, How were textbooks evaluated?[11] First, only books which were marginally different from those already in use and from each other would be considered as serious choices. This "sameness" is taken care of, in essence, by the Texas proclamation guidelines. According to this decision strategy, the differences in books would be compared (as opposed to comprehensive analyses of each), and books would be ranked according to comparative worth. Second, all decisionmakers throughout the procedure could make changes in their own or the state-described objectives for books based upon the books themselves; that is, there was a likelihood of a means-ends reciprocity. In addition, information resulting from the procedure could lead to changes in original policy proposals and valued beliefs (reflected by the proclamations). Third, decisionmakers would be trying to find the best books for temporary alleviation of some situation that can never be corrected permanently. Finally, the three-phased structure itself would work against identification and analysis of mutually agreeable aspects of any one book or the collection of books in any one subject area.

With this broad understanding of how larger aspects of the evaluation processes appear to have taken place, we can then ask the more precise question, What criteria were used by decision groups for evaluating textbooks? On the surface, it would appear that the proclamations (textbook guidelines produced by the Agency curriculum staff, approved by the Commissioner, and formally adopted by the State Board), as policy guidelines, served as the primary evaluation criteria for each decision group. These documents represented carefully-worded "instructions" to publishers concerning what the state of Texas wanted in its textbooks. I assumed that these proclamations would have been the principal evaluation criteria of those responsible for their wording (TEA personnel and the SBE), and that they would also hold much importance to the textbook committee. This latter assumption resulted from printed information which stated, in part, that "[State Textbook Committee members] have one . . . primary checkpoint: the proclamation for each textbook series . . ." (How textbooks are adopted, 1972, p. C3) as well as instructions given to the STC during an orientation meeting in Austin (Texas Education Agency, 1983). Furthermore, the proclamations were the sole evaluative threads formally binding the five key participant groups together and, as such, were important dimensions to centralized state textbook adoptions (Keith, 1981). *Adherence to the proclamation*, then, was bound to be an important criterion used by those selecting Texas textbooks.

The inclusion of a decision group comprised of practicing Texas educators, the fact that this group has nothing to do with the creation of the proclamation, and my own years as a classroom teacher together allowed me to assume that there might be additional criteria for textbook evaluation important to at least this group's membership.

I called the first additional criterion *organization and presentation of content*. The wording was such that it was to be interpreted as a measure beyond simply looking at a book's content and would presumably require the judgement of a trained and practiced professional (or textbook publisher). The phrase was designed to be broad enough to include such aspects as relevance to the curriculum, accuracy and authenticity, format, and/or appearance (Institute for Educational Development [IED], 1969). Although it is perhaps identified most closely with "relevance to the curriculum," Texas -- during the period under study -- operated with vaguely-worded curriculum frameworks which were actually used in the designing of the proclamations. The strong findings of Courtland, et al. (1983) suggesting the virtual absence of attention to state curricula in the selection of Indiana reading books prompted me to expect respondents to understand this criterion more as a concern for format, appearance, function, "flow," etc. than relevance to the Texas curriculum frameworks (see Guthrie, 1981).

In his reflections on the importance of the textbook, Warren (1981, p. 45) writes that "the textbook, as an educational tool, has survived many centuries despite changes in educational philosophy, methodology, and social obligations undertaken by the American society. As a tool of instruction, it has no equal in America today." The importance of the professional tool seemed to warrant a separate evaluation criterion I called *pedagogical strength (the best "tool" for the job).* Since the early decades of this century, it has been recognized that "nearly all beginning teachers are textbook teachers" (Cubberly, 1927, p. 4). The textbook committee, on the other hand, was comprised not of beginning teachers but of veterans recognized for their teaching abilities. How might they rank this criterion relative to the others? Porter (1981) found that, in the area of mathematics at least, more than half of the teachers surveyed by the National Advisory Committee on Mathematics Education said that they followed their textbooks closely. How important a book's "pedagogical strength" was to Texas teachers seemed to be a reasonable question to pose. Of all the criteria used to describe how books were evaluated, "teachability" would appear to be the single one most pertinent to classroom teachers, and would lend importance to and justification for their participation in state-level textbook decisions (Kirst & Walker, 1971).

Using disjointed incrementalism results in limits to the amount of information needed by policy analysts. Data from the IED study reveal that few teachers felt a need for additional information as they evaluated and selected texts (IED, 1969). For a task as important as textbook selection, it would appear that valuable print information is neither aggressively sought nor easily available (Muther, 1985b). "Textbooks, curiously, receive less public criticism than any other kind of writing," according to Mayer

(1962): "They are never reviewed in the general press, and even the educational press gives them no more than perfunctory notice." While some professional textbook assessments do exist (e.g., *EPIE Reports,* and *Curriculum Review*), studies suggest that their use by those who select textbooks is nominal (Saliterman, 1971). What *has* been shown is that much of the information available to members of textbook committees and school administrators comes from publishers themselves (Dessauer, 1974; Hall-Quest, 1918; Ruff & Orlich, 1974). With the inclusion of the criterion *professional reports, evaluations, journal reviews, etc.,* I sought to determine the relative importance such information held for those who chose textbooks for Texas.

Suitability to your specific students, location, etc. was selected as my fifth textbook evaluative criterion. This phrase was my attempt to incorporate what the 1969 IED study had called "relevance to needs" and "flexibility." Although centralized textbook adoption is, by intent, designed to promote a certain degree of curricular uniformity (Tulley, 1983), there is a strong belief among educators for the need to individualize instruction. This ideal is all but impossible when heavy reliance is placed on a single textbook (Church & Sedlak, 1976; Schramm, 1955); nevertheless, "suitability to your specific students, location, etc." may have been more broadly interpreted by Texas educators. The best textbooks for Texas would have to be usable in a wide variety of geographic locales with an equally wide array of learners. If this proved to be an important criterion for large numbers of the textbook committee, then it would certainly have made the reaching of a consensus more difficult than it was otherwise.

A proven way to learn whether or not a book has been effective would be to use it or to get reports from those who have used it (Muther, 1985a). However, books are sometimes either new or completely revised for the Texas adoption schedule, making knowledge of their effectiveness virtually impossible for Texas teachers to ascertain. Nevertheless, in recent years, publishers have been expected to produce "learner verification" data on their textbooks. These data are supposed to provide textbook producers and consumers with a formal assessment of the product's effectiveness in actual classrooms and are believed to be more valuable than reports of "pilot projects."

The nature of the teaching/learning phenomenon is such that too many variables lie beyond the control of those who would try and suggest a cause and effect relationship between textbooks and learning (Saliterman, 1971; Spalding, 1955). The inclusion of concepts such as effectiveness or "results," at least so far as textbooks go, becomes problemmatic when attempting to connect achievement data with textbooks used. My wording of this particular criterion -- *effectiveness (based on student achievement)*-- was such that I did not expect it to be of major importance to decisionmakers, given all of the above. If it were, the question of how this criterion had been incorporated would become a probing question during my in-depth interviews (see Chapter Three).[12]

Finally, the category *other (please specify)* was included in the event that criteria such as appearance, authorship, or "readability" had been important. The question of how textbooks were evaluated, when constructed for use in my study, read as follows:

> Please rank order your use of the following criteria in evaluating books offered for adoption.
>
> (1 = most important, 2 = next most important, etc.)
>
> ___ Adherence to the proclamation
>
> ___ Organization and presentation of content
>
> ___ Pedagogical strength (the best "tool" for the job)
>
> ___ Professional reports, evaluations, journal reviews, etc.
>
> ___ Suitability to your specific students, location, etc.
>
> ___ Effectiveness (based on student achievement)
>
> ___ Other (Please specify)

This question was asked of each decision group. Although I expected "adherence to the proclamation" to be the most important response from each group, additional categories were included primarily for the benefit of the STC members who I assumed would have looked for much more when selecting their professional "tools."

Were publishers and petitioners influential in textbook decisions? Because they took part in a procedure authoritatively designed to allocate values (textbooks), and because publishers and petitioners also participated, I assumed that there may have been some degree of influence felt by those on the STC, in the Agency, and on the SBE as they undertook their tasks. As has been observed:

> Education policy provides authoritative direction to the allocation of resources, including the legitimacy of law and its delegation for school operations. Identifying actors, describing influence structures and processes, and explaining the ideological biases and their results are matters that engage researchers in the state politics of education. (Iannaccone & Cistone, 1974, p. 41)

My second focus question, then, concerned the nature and extent, if any, to which Texas textbook decisionmakers had been influenced by publishers and/or petitioners. Influence, although a complex concept, has been defined in a common sense fashion by Robert Dahl (1976, p. 29) as follows:

> [S]uppose there are only two people in a system, A and B. A influences B to the extent that he changes B's actions or predispositions in some way.[13]

In this study, members of each decision group were asked to comment on the nature and extent to which they were conscious of their predispositions and actions toward textbook selection and adoption being influenced by publishers and petitioners -- participants who not only demand but are in direct competition with each other for scarce values and resources (Wirt, 1976). Although the concept of influence is closely related to those of power and control, there are obvious distinctions made here. Power, in the case of Texas textbook decisions, was a bureaucratic design component of the overall system's structure. Professional educators made initial decisions, the Commissioner of Education and his staff had the power to alter or overturn those decisions, and the State Board of Education had the power to alter or overturn those of the Commissioner. Control, here, is seen as the way in which decisions were constrained by the rules and guidelines of the system itself. Mann (1977, p. 68) describes control as "a determinate, or at least a dominant influence. There is an idea of sufficient command in controlling." As the system functioned, there was no possible way that publishers or petitioners could be seen as having power or control over textbook decisions (although it has been argued that, in Texas, both groups might be seen as having some degree of control over textbook content).

As a policymaking structure, the Texas textbook selection and adoption system can be seen as a game or contest in which participant groups, particularly the non-decision groups, pursue a strategy of one sort or another (Kaufman, 1963). Each of these two groups has much at stake, as Sroufe (1977, p. 290) explains:

> "Stakes" means jobs, money, prestige, influence, status, or even acceptance of ideas. People care enough about such stakes to try actively to influence their distribution. To this end they develop and husband their influence, and seek to use it wisely to affect the distribution of stakes.

Below, I look at each of these groups and briefly discuss how they might exert influence during the procedure.

Publisher influence. For some publishers, all of Sroufe's examples might have been stakes, though certainly profit was a major concern. The publishers' role within this system was made clear in one elhi executive's comments:

> [O]ur function, really in a nutshell, was to reach each of the fifteen [STC] members . . . and a number of advisors that each of those committee members had [in order] to first inform them that we had a book or books . . . [and describe] their qualities, hopefully not some of their disadvantages but, if you were really smart, you tried to paint the entire picture, good *and* bad, and show that the good far outweighed the bad, and in some professional way, contrast your products to someone else's.
>
> So our function . . . was to reach those fifteen committee members and their advisors -- most of them had five advisors for each subject area -- so roughly 75-100 people we needed to influence that our product deserved to be on the list. (Tape no. 7)[14]

During the stable period of the Texas textbook system, publishers enjoyed a span of approximately seven weeks during which they could contact committee members and advisors. Large and small groups met in formal and informal meetings, sometimes only to get to know one another but more often than not to discuss textbooks. Each committee member was required to allow each book's representatives at least one formal visit for what is known as their "Round Robin" presentation. At that time, authors, editors, consultants, and representatives of the firm met with the STC member and her/his specialists in one subject area (e.g., spelling) to present their product(s). The number of "contacts," formal or informal, was limited only by the committee member or advisory group. Publishers were prevented by law from offering costly gifts to committee personnel, but were permitted to, and usually did, according to everyone I spoke with in my preliminary interviews, buy them luncheons and dinners.

In addition to these contacts, publishers were expected to respond, in writing, to charges made against their books (Bills of Particular) by petitioners. These "Bills" and publishers' "Answers," as they came to be known, were bound and made available to each member of the STC as additional information for them to consider during their deliberations. Publishers were also given time during the textbook hearings to respond verbally to petitioners' charges and could be questioned by the committee or the Commissioner regarding their books. If there was going to be any conscious influence exerted by publishers on the members of this decision group, it seemed most likely that it would result from one of those three sources: (1) formal contacts; (2) informal contacts; or (3) their handling of critics' concerns either in writing or during the hearings.

To assay the extent to which publishers might have influenced decisionmakers, I asked members of each group to respond to the following question:

To what extent, if any, do you feel you were _typically_ influenced in your textbook decisions by members of the publishing industry?

(Please select only one)

__Influenced my choice of each book considerably
__Influenced my choice of certain books considerably
__Influenced my choice of each book somewhat
__Influenced my choice of certain books somewhat
__Had no influence on any of my choices

Because publishers have their most intense, prolonged, and probably most important contacts with the textbook committee (as opposed, for example, to the State Board), STC members were asked the following additional question:

If the publishing personnel did influence your choice(s) of textbooks, indicate how this influence took place.

(Please select only one)

__As a result of their personal contacts
__As a result of their formal ("Round Robin") presentation
__Other (Please specify)

During follow-up interviews, respondents were asked to elaborate on each of these responses.

Petitioner influence. The Texas system also invited interested citizens and groups to participate in the textbook selection and adoption procedure. Since 1969, petitioners have had the opportunity to present their concerns about textbooks in writing and in person before each decision group. Their presence, like that of the publishers, was intended to influence those who had authority to choose books (the STC) or to alter content or delete books (the Commissioner and SBE), "with the intent of affecting what happens in schools" (Mann, 1977, p. 68). Former Commissioner Brockette had this to say about the petitioning process:

> I think it's intended, you know, that [petitioners] have some influence, that being an effective expression on their part. If they've taken the time . . . to review those books, then there needs to be an outlet and a way for them to express it in such a way that, if their points are valid [and] well-presented, that they have some impact and influence on the committee and on the board [and] on the Commissioner.
> (Tape no. 7)

Most of what has been written, both in the professional and popular press, about recent Texas textbook procedure has centered on the activities of two of these petitioners, Mel & Norma Gabler (see, for example, Hefley, 1976; Piasecki, 1981; Last, 1984). This comes as no real surprise, for as Peterson (1974, p. 364) has written:

> [C]itizen participation in most policy-making processes is generally limited to a few activists (Agger, Goldrich & Swanson, 1964; Dahl, 1961; Milbrath, 1965; Verba & Nie, 1972). Most individuals, most of the time, do not believe efforts to influence governmental agencies

> bring enough changes in policies to justify the time, energy, and resources such efforts entail (Olson, 1965; Salisbury, 1969).

Participation by the Gablers and others has turned the public hearings, in the minds of some, into a "three ring circus" as opposed to a political action forum.[15] Virtually all controversy appears to center on the petitioners' role as textbook censors -- a label which they refuse to accept but which Last (1984) and the members of People for the American Way (1983) argue is properly affixed. Circumstantial evidence has been gathered by the popular press, scholars, and liberal interest groups which suggests that the Gablers have indeed been responsible for the removal of some books and for content changes in others. The following example of petitioner influence on the STC is offered as a case in point. (Note: This example also serves to foreshadow questions concerning the procedures for balloting of textbook committee members and will be discussed later as a concern for what I am calling reputational legitimacy.)

> Beyond the Gabler's own claims, statewide and national media attention, the volume of their Bills of Particulars and testimony and the array of allies who launched Gabler-like protests, 1982 revealed other indications of the Gabler's influence on the Texas system. There was strong evidence that the Gablers were instrumental in defeating one particular book, *Land and People: A World Geography* (Scott-Foresman).
>
> This book was rejected by the State Textbook Committee *solely*

> because of its treatment of evolutionary theory. The Gablers filed more than 80 individual protests against the book, many of them directly attacking the book's "evolutionary speculation." The book received 9 votes from the Textbook Committee on the first ballot. (Had it received 10, it automatically would have been approved.) Following the first vote, Mr. Patrick Noon -- a Committee member from Longview [the Gabler's home town] -- launched an impassioned attack on the book's "evolution bias," which he said violated section 1.3 of the Proclamation. Seven of the 15 Committee members then spoke strongly in favor of the book, which had been either the first or second choice of several of the world geography advisory committees. On subsequent votes, the Scott-Foresman book received 6 votes, then 2 votes, and finally dropped to 0 votes. It was the *only one* of seven books that was not selected even as an alternate. (People for . . ., 1983, p. 13)

This example and others like it (e.g., Bowler, 1978) raise important questions about whether the influence of the Gablers is routinely as strong or pervasive as some suggest. Former Commissioner Edgar, for example, seems convinced that petitioners have had almost no influence on the STC members (Tape nos. 1&2). No one appears, as yet, to have asked the decisionmakers themselves the extent to which they felt petitioner influence. Nor have they been asked whether this influence was a result of the formal procedure (reading Bills and/or listening to testimony) or through personal contacts and relationships between decisionmakers and petitioners.

Despite the notoriety accompanying the annual appearance of the Gablers, it should be noted that other individuals and groups do participate in the Texas textbook selection and adoption procedure. How did the presence of these petitioners affect the decisions of the State Textbook Committee? the TEA personnel? the State Board of Education? As I mentioned in Chapter One, I am not concerned here with the question of censorship per se, but only with the question of influence -- predispositions or actions toward textbook decisions. Whether the Commissioner or the State Board decided to alter the content of or actually remove one book or another may be a censoring act; what I wanted to know, however, is whether or not those making textbook decisions felt that petitioners (or publishers, for that matter) helped to influence those decisions. My focus question, "What was the nature and extent of influence (if any) on these decisionmakers resulting from the participation of the "outsider" groups (petitioners and publishers)?" was posed to STC members in the following manner:

> To what extent, if any, did the input of the petitioners serve to influence your final selection of textbooks?
>
> (Please select only one)
>
> ___Influenced my choice of each book considerably
> ___Influenced my choice of certain books considerably
> ___Influenced my choice of each book somewhat
> ___Influenced my choice of certain books somewhat
> ___Had no influence on any of my choices

Because the textbook committee endured the most lengthy hearings (all of the books were still in contention as far as petitioners were concerned) and sometimes were not provided with complete sets of the Bills of Particular until late in the summer, its membership was asked the following question:

> If the petitioners did influence your choice(s) of textbooks, which of their actions influenced you most?
>
> (Please select only one)
>
> __Their "Bills of Particulars"
> __Their testimony at the hearings
> __Other (Please specify)

For the remaining two groups (Agency personnel and State Board members), I asked only for their opinions regarding the extent to which their textbook decisions were influenced (each book considerably, certain books somewhat, etc.), providing no distinction for when this might have occurred. This was an area (the notions of *how* and *when* they were influenced) that I intended to probe thoroughly during follow-up interviews.

I also planned to talk at length about this concept with each publisher and petitioner who was a part of my study (see Chapter Three). I believed it important to know how these groups attempted to influence the state's decision groups, how they felt they were perceived and received by each group, and whether or not they felt they could measure their degree of success. These impressions, to emphasize a point I will make throughout this work, were believed to bring a unique strength to the study: I felt that by exploring my focus questions and related questions from the full range of phenomenological perspectives, I would be better equipped to provide a picture of what went on within the Texas system. In order to try and "see" how influence was intersubjectively understood, I thought it imperative, then, to seek information from those who experienced it as well as those who intended it to happen.

Related Questions of the Study

Formal structures provide organization and legitimacy to policy decisions, and the Texas textbook structure with which we're concerned was no different. First, its authority rested in the law. As a sub-system of the state educational governance structure, the entire textbook selection and adoption system was constructed with educational codes and statutes and State Board administrative guidelines, all resting on a foundation laid by the Texas constitution (Gardner, 1978; Seidenberger, 1953). All decisionmakers (including the advisory groups used by the STC) acted as legal representatives of the state.

Second, authority flowed from the participants themselves. It was understood that the elected State Board, as representatives of the general public, became the "lay experts" in Texas educational matters.[16] Those at the Agency (including the Commissioner) were veteran educators and administrators whose job it was to see that the textbook procedure unfolded as planned (according to the rules) and that selected books met the proper, pre-ordained guidelines. Barring some real educational crisis, both of these groups would be expected to act in ways that were routine and understandable, if not predictable, as they carried out tasks which they were used to doing and for which they could claim some degree of expertise (Eliot, 1960; Iannaccone, 1967).[17]

How were STC members and advisors selected? The authority of the State Textbook Committee, on the other hand, is not quite as easily established. The Texas system was designed to include a group of practicing educators whose legal authority rested in their being appointed by the State Board and their becoming state agents during the year of their service. The composition of this group is controlled by the Texas Education Code (12.11[a & b]), which reads, in part, as follows:

> . . . 15 persons, no two of whom shall live in the same congressional district . . .
>
> Each of the persons so named shall be an experienced and active educator engaged in teaching in the public schools of Texas. At least a majority of the members of the committee shall be classroom teachers, and all members shall be appointed because of unusual backgrounds of training and recognized ability as teachers in the subject area fields for which adoptions are to be made during the year of appointment.

The STC, then, consisted of experienced, active educators, a majority of whom were classroom teachers, and who, collectively, had training and recognized teaching ability in each of the areas receiving new books. It would seem that the professional authority of this group rested with their expertise as Texas educators working in prescribed subject areas.

But the selection of this committee was more involved than one might expect from reading the education codes. I learned from my preliminary interviews with those at the TEA that there were additional or "understood" criteria important in selecting these members. For example, the concerns for appointing persons from different congressional districts (noted above) had evolved into a practice of rotating membership on the STC in order to fairly serve all congressional districts. There were always more congressional districts than STC memberships. Thus, each year, Agency staff searched for textbook committee members by determining, first, which congressional districts were to receive a member.

Another factor which came to light in those early interviews was the Agency's attempt to balance the gender and ethnic composition of the committee as best it could. A third factor, with respect to selecting teachers for the committee, was the required endorsement of their local superintendent. Already we can begin to see the difficulty of putting together a committee of recognized subject-area specialists who work in the appropriate congressional districts, who represent an acceptable ethnic and gender balance, and who have received the imprimatur of their superintendents. In the following excerpt, former Commissioner Brockette describes his process for constructing the committee:

> [TEA curriculum consultants] were instructed . . . to be on the look-out and to bring me lists of names of outstanding people just for the purpose of examining them when the time came for the textbook selection process. . . . I had to keep in mind that [no more than one member could] come from each congressional district and that . . . yea, that we had all the races participating in the selection process . . . because that's quite an issue in our [inaudible] state. . . . Then, having taken that sort of thing into account, I would make the call, in the case of the classroom teachers, to the local . . . school superintendent to say "Hey. I'm considering asking . . . this person from your school to serve on the textbook committee. Are there reasons of health or what have you . . . that we shouldn't ask that person?" . . . Then, having . . . made the calls for the round of our first choices, I pulled some of the staff people back together to say "Look. I've got a problem with this particular person, at least from the administrative standpoint." Then we'd maybe go to our next choice in that congressional district. . . . the process just went on that way until we found people who agreed to serve. (Tape no. 12)

Another criterion for selecting teacher-members was the need to identify a certain "type" of person. Two former commissioners provide examples:

Interviewer: [Had] you given [your staff] criteria to use [in identifying potential STC members]: how many years teaching or how old they had to be; that sort of thing?

Commissioner Brockette: Yes. I'm not sure how much of that we had in writing and how much of it was discussion around the table. But yes, they had guidelines that they were trying to follow.

Interviewer: What's an example of some of the criteria . . .?

Commissioner Brockette: [T]hey had to be knowledgeable in the field. They had to have a reputation in their school district, with their fellow teachers, that they had been good people that had exerted leadership, that they had . . . a good reputation as a strong teacher in history or English or science education. And that certainly . . . they'd be of [pause] good character, that they'd not violate any of the things in the law [regarding the textbook procedures] . . . (Tape no. 12)

Interviewer: What sort of process was involved with [appointing a textbook committee]?

Commissioner Edgar: [discussing the selection of classroom teachers] [T]hese were teachers that were known to our staff . . . who we felt were outstanding in each subject field [in which books were being adopted]. . . . If we didn't know for sure about a person, I would call the superintendent in their school district where we knew . . . that, say Dallas had a good science program, but we didn't know a teacher in Dallas who might serve who could stand this public exposure and this incredible competition that they had to go through. So I would

> call the superintendent in Dallas and say, "Look. We've got this science [adoption coming up] and we need a good strong science teacher. Can you name us one in your system?" . . . If we knew them, we would select them and call the superintendent and ask him if he'd give them permission to serve. (Tape no. 3)

"Strong in character" appeared to be an important additional concern of at least these two former commissioners in selecting the teacher-members of the textbook committee. Perhaps the other members (e.g., superintendents, principals, supervisors) were assumed to have this quality by virtue of their positions. Nevertheless, the committee's composition was important as much to the task at hand as to the legitimacy its decisions would hold for Texas educators as a whole.

Appointment to the State Textbook Committee remained one of the "closed" aspects of the Texas textbook system between the years 1969 and 1981. It appeared to be a critically important search for talented teachers and strong administrators undertaken by Agency personnel. How were committee members identified? What "understood" criteria were involved? To what extent, if any, was an attempt made to locate educators who had had experience evaluating textbooks, or was appointment to the textbook committee, as one Agency official described it, simply a "reward for excellent service" (Tape no. 11)?

These unanswered questions arising from the general textbook adoption literature (e.g., Saliterman, 1971; Courtland, et al., 1983) and my preliminary interviews became the basis of an important related question:

"How were State Textbook Committees constructed?" State Textbook Committee members were asked to select one of the following phrases which best described why they were selected:

____I actively sought the position

____I had expertise in the area of textbook evaluation

____I was selected because of my experience and performance as an educator as well as my professional activities

____Other (please specify)

I fully expected a majority to choose number 3 because of the way in which the Education Code is worded and the way in which commissioners had described this group during preliminary interviews.

In addition to asking textbook committee members why they were selected, I asked former State Board members, in a separate questionnaire, for their understanding of the major criteria used in the selection of the textbook committee. Sometime during the mid-1970s, as a matter of courtesy, members of this body began to receive the names of the STC candidates from their congressional districts who the Commissioner intended to recommend for the position. "It could be that some board members would have some knowledge about these people that our staff had not gathered or that I had not gathered," was the justification used by the Commissioner at the time (Tape no. 12). There was some possibility of board members' listing criteria which exceeded those found in the Codes; a chance that they might offer more insight into some of the "unwritten" criteria, such as strength and character, mentioned by the commissioners.

The question of STC member criteria was, of course, an important one to put to those curriculum experts at the Agency who, I learned from preliminary interviews, were perhaps most responsible for identifying the classroom teaching members of the STC. By asking each of these groups how this committee membership was determined, I might be able to better understand the group's political importance.

This research was intended to uncover some of the "black boxes" which were a part of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system. I wanted to know (1) how each decision group went about evaluating and reviewing textbooks, and (2) what was the nature and extent, if any, of influence on these groups by publishers and petitioners. As I reviewed the literature and conducted my preliminary interviews, a number of related questions arose which seemed to be important enough to address within my questionnaires and/or during follow-up interviews. These questions are speculative in nature and difficult to separate from each other and from the focus questions from which they stem.

The first of these related questions has already been discussed, that is, my inquiry into who constituted the group of initial decisionmakers (STC) and how those persons were identified. The second question relates in large part to the principle of "affected interests," a principle which led to including both practicing educators and an elected board of non-educators in the state textbook adoption procedure. It is a question regarding what I have called the "representational legitimacy" of those who made Texas textbook decisions.

Were STC and SBE textbook decisions representationally legitimate? Those who make policy recommendations and decisions are an elite group, elected, appointed, and/or selected because of their unusual qualifications to make those decisions (Mann, 1977). Not everyone can nor does everyone wish to act in a position of educational policy responsibility (Iannaccone & Cistone, 1974; Mann, 1977). This is true in the case of state textbook selection and adoption.

By definition, these decisions had to be perceived as authoritative (legitimate) in the eyes of those who would be affected by them. In the case of the Texas textbook system, much of this legitimacy resulted from the legal bases of the system as well as from the fact that all decisionmakers acted as agents of the state.

The principle of representative democracy was at work here also. The State Board was a body elected by the people and was seen as responsible to them for its textbook decisions. Exercising the will of the people, it appointed the Commissioner who, among his other responsibilities, oversaw the state's textbook selection and adoption system. This leader carefully selected a staff (each member subject to State Board approval) which would see that the Texas Education Agency carried out many of the responsibilities connected with the textbook procedure, from determining which books would be called for to actually getting the books in the schools. One of these responsibilities, of course, was that of putting together a committee of professional educators to screen and initially select textbooks during the cycle. This committee was then formally appointed by the State Board. In essence, the procedure's overall structure and all of its participants shared in the representational authority of the elected State Board.

In addition to the principle of representative democracy, another important principle -- the principle of "affected interests" -- influenced the adoption of textbooks. This principle prompted the inclusion of publishers and petitioners in the procedure. Further, the same principle guided both the selection of certain members for the State Textbook Committee and their selection of advisory groups.

Texas textbook decisions bear heavy importance to all Texas public school educators. Although the State Textbook Committee had to contain a majority of teachers, often only one of those teachers was a subject specialist in an area for which books were beng selected. It would be a mistake to think that several thousand high school geometry teachers, for example, working in geographically and culturally diverse parts of the state, would be completely satisfied with textbooks decided upon by a textbook committee having only one geometry teacher (or worse yet, one mathematics teacher). The sheer enormity of the work load required STC members to enlist the aid of advisory committees. Texas geometry teachers became more fully represented, therefore, when each textbook committee member selected an advisory group with the expertise needed to evaluate *geometry* books; there might be between 45-70 specialists in geometry from throughout the state taking part in the initial decision process. These advisory committees would review geometry books and recommend to their STC member which of those books were the best. In this fashion, teachers throughout the state could feel that these state-level geometry textbook decisions were based on recommendations from a sizable number of their peers and colleagues.

Elboim-Dror (1970) stressed the importance of teachers' acceptance of and identification with the policies that direct their work, especially those concerned with intangible goals. State-level textbook adoptions represent such policy decisions (see also, Keith, 1981). In light of this

> it seems reasonable to assume that the persons who make up the committee have been chosen on the basis of political acceptance by the teachers who will use the books. Inasmuch as few will study what is available while many will use what is selected, it is important to have a committee whose decisions will be accepted. Various devices are used to this end, including election by teachers, selection by officers of designated associations, by supervisors, and others. In each instance the aim is to find persons whose decisions will be accepted with little dissent and whose choice of books will be readily used. (Spalding, 1955, p. 172)

I had given this process of STC members using subject specialists as advisors and the representative legitimacy it lent to their textbook decisions little thought until the phrase "vote their advisors" began surfacing during my initial interviews and discussions. The example used earlier to describe the alleged influence of the Gablers suggests the sort of negotiations which apparently were not unusual during the STC balloting process. One former publisher's representative described the circumstances surrounding those negotiations to me during an interview in the Fall of 1984:

> Say there's going to be five books [selected by the textbook committee]. The first two are probably going to be [snaps his fingers] just cut and dried. . . . The fifth book that gets on the list may get on there by the skin of its teeth. . . . Maybe this pitch that people [on the committee] make for concensus to try and sell their point may have an impact when you get down there [to the final books being selected] because a person will negotiate their . . . fourth and fifth choices and they'll probably never negotiate their first ones. (Tape no. 9)

While perhaps most STC members cast their textbook ballots according to the decisions of their advisors, others, despite the weeks of work their advisory groups put into textbook evaluations, may have decided during the balloting to cast their vote for books other than those recommended by their advisors. In the adoption of geometry books, then, we might find a third grade elementary teacher or a superintendent trained years ago in physical education casting ballots for textbooks which their geometry advisory groups found unacceptable. If this were common practice, it would raise important questions about how legitimate those decisions were *vis a vis* the appearance of a broad spectrum of expert judgements from advisory committees. To coin a phrase, the practice raises questions of "representational legitimacy."

Such decisionmaking practices (e.g., making decisions different from the wishes of those one represents) are not uncommon, however. We can look to the literature on representation to understand why such practices occur. In *Participation, Representation, and Control*, Dale Mann (1977) explains that the most common form of participation in school matters is not direct democracy (which rests on widespread individual participation) but "polyarchal" democracy, the basic tenets of which are "that (a) elites decide issues on behalf of masses (or leaders on behalf of followers, or representatives on behalf of constituencies), and (b) the masses, followers, or constituencies have periodic opportunities through elections to replace one set of elites with another" (Mann, 1977, p. 77).

Obviously, this model, while true of the state educational governance structure as a whole, does not fit comfortably with the Texas textbook system beyond the fact that "elites decide issues on behalf of masses." The purpose for raising this point is to emphasize the importance of representation within a polyarchal system.

Drawing heavily on Hanna Pitkin's *The Concept of Representation*, Mann (1977, p. 79) outlines four ways through which educational representation occurs:

> "Formalistic representation" happens in the act of authorizing someone to be a representative. . . . "Descriptive representation" stresses the similarity between the representative and the represented on allegedly salient features . . . , not the congruence between what the constituency wants and/or needs and what the

> representative does. "Symbolic representation" . . . stresses how people feel about their representatives. . . . The fourth category, "substantive representation," is the heart of the matter since it deals with relations between desires and interests of the representative and the represented. . . . The central idea is that there should be a correspondence between what the representatives do and what the represented would have them do.

The representative is charged with promoting the welfare of and being responsive to the constituency, a position which can and often does prove conflicting. In Pitkin's (1967, p. 4) words:

> The majority of theorists argue that the representative must do what is best for those in his charge, but that he must do what he thinks best, using his own judgement and wisdom, since he is chosen to make decisions for (that is, instead of) his constituents. But a minority maintain that the representative's duty is to reflect accurately the wishes and opinions of those he represents. Anything else they consider a mockery of true representation.

Mann (1977) goes on to explain that, because of the ever-present likelihood that representatives might find themselves in situations which produce practical or ethical dilemmas, they must choose a style of representation. He identifies these representative styles as "trustee," "delegate," and "politico," and provides the following descriptions:

> Briefly, a trustee is someone whose decisions are based on his own values, even though the represented may disagree. A delegate reverses the priority and is guided by expressed citizen preferences even at the expense of his own best judgement. . . . A representative acting in the style of a politico borrows from either the trustee or delegate styles as dictated by situations but has some internally consistent rationale for doing so. The politico does not merely waffle but rather enacts a trustee or delegate orientation according to the dictates of circumstance. (Mann, 1977, p. 80)

What can all of this tell us about the Texas textbook selection and adoption system? We know that three groups acted as decisionmakers within the system: the Commissioner of Education and his professional curriculum staff within the Texas Education Agency, an elected State Board of Education, and an appointed State Textbook Committee made up of active Texas educators. The selection and adoption of textbooks was authoritatively accomplished by these groups acting as representatives of different constituencies. Information learned during preliminary interviews and discussions with current and former TEA administrators led me to decide not to pursue this concept of representational legitimacy with TEA textbook decisions. In large part, this was because of my inability to formulate a clear picture of the constituencies served by TEA personnel. For example, the structure for educational governance in Texas is such that textbook decisions made by Agency curriculum staff are thought to reflect the beliefs, wants, needs, etc. of the Commissioner.

Nonetheless, each curriculum expert serves subject specialists throughout the state and represents a professional discipline with state and national peers. The Commissioner, of course, is an appointee of the board, on the one hand, and a professional educator on the other. To complicate his responsibilities, he is also understood to be responsible to the interested citizenry of the state.

In short, textbook decisions were made at the Agency by staff who, in some way or another, represented the SBE, the Commissioner, educators throughout the state working in their discipline, and their own professional peers and colleagues. Staff textbook recommendations were given to the Commissioner, whose textbook decisions apparently represented the staff, the board, and the citizenry. Realizing the complexity of this nebulous web of constituencies, I elected not to try and determine the representational legitimacy of TEA textbook decisions.

State Board of Education members. Applying the concept to the textbook decisions of the SBE was somewhat easier, though no less speculative. Each board member had a congressional district populated by "the voting public" as a constituency, though Ziegler & Jennings (1974) have reported that school board members typically adopt the "trustee" style of representation, basing decisions on their own values regardless of those held by their constituency. This practice would allow us to expect that the Texas state school board members would not have seen their textbook decisions as particularly reflective of those who voted them into office.

I did not expect to find any unusual communication between board members and voters during textbook adoption time that might have altered this pattern. Nevertheless, I did not wish to disregard the possibility that State Board members might have felt peculiarly responsive to the people's wishes in the case of textbook adoption. Therefore, I included the following question in their surveys:

> To what extent, if any, do you feel you were typically influenced in your textbook decisions by the voters in your Congressional district?
>
> (Please select only one)
>
> ____Influenced my choice of each book considerably
> ____Influenced my choice of certain books considerably
> ____Influenced my choice of each book somewhat
> ____Influenced my choice of certain books somewhat
> ____Had no influence on any of my choices

High representational legitimacy, for this group, is assigned to the responses which suggest *considerable* influence from constituents regarding each book or certain books. Representational legitimacy would decline in cases where constituents influenced the choice of each book somewhat. Low representational legitimacy would be assigned to cases where the board member felt some degree of influence in certain choices or no influence.

Besides their voting constituency, some board members used advisors as a way to gain information about textbooks. I intended to discover who these advisors represented and how their information was used by board members in their textbook decisions. The essential question in the SBE survey which was aimed at learning how their advisors' information affected their decisions read:

> To what extent, if any, do you feel you were typically influenced in your textbook decisions by advisors you selected to review the books?
>
> (Please select only one)
>
> ____Influenced my choice of each book considerably
> ____Influenced my choice of certain books considerably
> ____Influenced my choice of each book somewhat
> ____Influenced my choice of certain books somewhat
> ____Had no influence on any of my choices

In-depth interviewing would provide the elaborative data needed to determine the standard for assessing representational legitimacy in these cases.

State Textbook Committee members. We might expect, then, to find a trustee style of representation among State Board members representing their voters, but what might be expected of the textbook committee members? If, as I have suggested, the crux of the state-wide legitimacy of their decisions rested on their receiving knowledgeable information from advisory groups, then it would follow that they would employ a delegate style of representation during the balloting process. However, the previous example taken from the People for the American Way report of textbook balloting shows that this style is not always manifested; that, despite the recommendations of their advisors, committee members could negotiate their selections during the balloting process.

My inquiry into influence was informally broadened to include not only influence between decision and non-decision groups but influence within decision groups themselves. In the case of the STC, I became interested in learning the extent to which these members followed the recommendations of their advisors. To use Mann's stylistic descriptions, were they trustee, delegate, or politico representatives? If their representative style was closer to that of the politico, who or what was it that could cause them to alter a decision which, presumably, had been carefully arrived at by their own group of subject area experts?

In an attempt to explore these questions of representation with the STC members, I asked two survey questions. One was straightforward:

> During the balloting, to what extent did you follow your advisors' recommendations regarding the textbooks in areas other than your area of expertise?
>
> (Please select only one)
>
> __Folowed their recommendations in every case
> __Followed their recommendations in most cases
> __Followed their recommendations in some cases
> __Rarely followed their recommendations

I emphasized decisions made outside their area of expertise because, as Mann (1977, p. 87) has noted: "A belief in personal expertise is a powerful rationale for excluding other people in decision making." In other words, a geometry teacher serving on the committee would be more likely than an elementary music instructor to reflect the trustee style when making decisions about geometry books.

These particular survey data could be cross-checked with the actual balloting records kept by the Agency. The committee is encouraged to refrain from formal or informal discussion prior to the first ballot so that they *will* "vote their advisors," at least on that ballot, although one former publisher observed during our conversation that: "With that vote out of the way, they've paid their debt to their advisors and can pretty much go with the flow after that."

The second question pertaining to representational legitimacy was equally straightforward:

> To what extent do you feel that your evaluation of textbooks would have been similar to a group of Texas educators randomly selected from your subject area?
>
> (Please select only one)
>
> __Choices would be virtually identical
> __Choices would be somewhat different
> __Choices would be considerably different
> __Don't know

This question stemmed from two strands of thought. By design, committee members were selected for their reputed competence in a subject-area. We might say that they were something like "master teachers," and as such, would be expected to make different (that is, better) decisions than neophytes or veterans who had acquired no such reputation. Furthermore, as committee members, they became privy to the latest information regarding books in their field and thus better informed, one might argue, to make textbook decisions. Given these two factors, we might expect that committee member decisions would be different from those of a randomly selected group of their peers.

On the other hand, committee members did not make their decisions alone. They may have made it a point to enlist the aid of many different persons to aid them in their decisions -- persons who did not necessarily hold to similar beliefs or practices. Or, they may have made it their business to discuss those books with a large number of teachers and curriculum supervisors in order to ensure that their decisions would be representative of a variety of professionals working within their subject area. If this were the case, their decisions would not have been surprisingly different from those made by a randomly selected group of their peers in their subject area.

I had learned from my early discussions that Texas prided itself on an adoption system that involved contributions from many hundreds of educators throughout the state. I expected committee members to feel that their decisions would not be too different from a randomly selected group of their peers, and reasoned that this would lend authority to the work of the STC as a whole. Textbook decisions with high "representational legitimacy," then, became those which, regarding books outside a committee member's subject area, were based in each case upon the recommendations of subject-area advisory committees. Within the committee member's subject area, decisions had high representational legitimacy when they were believed to be virtually the same as decisions which might have been made by a randomly selected group of subject-area peers.

To review briefly, I have described the two questions which have served as the major focus of this study: (1) How were textbooks evaluated by decisionmakers? and (2) To what extent, if any, were their decisions influenced by the activities of publishers and petitioners?

Questions related to these primary questions emerged as the initial stage of my research progressed (see Chapter Three). The first had to do with the importance of the appointed textbook committee *vis a vis* the legitimacy of their textbook decisions in the eyes of the state's educators. An attempt was made, through the inclusion of survey interview questions, to determine how the textbook committee was identified and appointed. A second question was asked about the representational legitimacy of textbook decisions made by members of the two large decision groups, the SBE and STC. Discovering their "style" of representation during voting would lead to speculations as to whether or not they appeared to be making textbook choices that their constituencies would have wanted. To try and determine the "representational legitimacy" of textbook decisions for the STC and SBE groups, I asked them questions about the degree to which their decisions reflected their advisors' recommendations and, for textbook committee members, might have been similar to their subject-area peer group, cross-checking these data, where possible, with available records, and probing respondents in follow-up interviews. A related awareness was my need to investigate the question of intra-group influence during the initial decision phase and, perhaps, the inter-group influence on the system as a whole.

What General Impressions of the Texas System are Held by Participants?

The final area of related interest was born from reading Spalding's (1955) *The Selection and Distribution of Printed Materials*. In it, he argues the necessity of having what he calls a "tested theory about the good text," that is, a way for everyone concerned with textbook selection to identify which books are truly the best. One result of not having such a theory, according to Spalding, is that the *procedure* used for selecting books becomes more important than its participants:

> The absence of tested theory makes it impossible to train people to select books well. The result is that it is generally believed that anyone can pick out the right books if he follows the correct procedure. The search is for a right method by which to apply ignorance and get a wise choice. (Spalding, 1955, pp. 181-182)

This point was again brought out in Saliterman's (1971) work on textbook selection. The following excerpt is included to show how the system itself legitimizes its participants' decisions:

> In school systems, policies, rules, formulas, and procedures are not taken by everybody as inviolable because they are ruthlessly enforced by political coalitions but precisely because there is no motivating force to act otherwise.
>
> In such a situation, the need for symbolic reassurance that the decision-making process is appropriate seems to be very high. . . . The use of rules and regulations to ensure the observation of a careful and fair process of decision-making is very responsive to this need. The rules governing text-book selection do not prescribe a specific text, but rather a method for its selection. . . . In other words, in schools there is an atmosphere of "universal agreement," not because of wide participation or a balancing out of a play of power, but because of this ritualistic reliance on legitimated procedure. (Saliterman, 1971, pp. 263-264)

Did Texas get the best textbooks? My earliest conversations and discussions with former STC advisors, Agency personnel, publishers, and petitioners all seemed to indicate that it was the structure and function of the system which was responsible for procuring the best textbooks rather than the participants themselves. When asked if the system succeeded in providing the best books possible for Texas, all but one of my inital contacts replied in the affirmative. (The sole dissenting voice was that of a former publisher who is now an educator. [Tape no. 6]) When asked what it was about the system that enabled it to produce the best results, answers ranged from the value of the proclamations in defining what would be in the books to the value of petitioners who see to it that nothing questionable gets past their eyes.

I was curious about these responses and decided to include a similar question in each decision group's survey. In asking whether or not the system produced the best books, I expected to find that most would respond "yes." If that proved true, then I could probe their thinking in my interviews, trying to establish whether or not they felt that these results were due to the participants or to the structure of the system as a whole. If "no," then I would ask for their explanation and reasoning.

What do participants feel were the system's weaknesses & strengths? The final set of questions posed to former textbook decisionmakers were general in nature and intent. Each participant (including publishers and petitioners who did not receive surveys) was asked to comment on the strengths and weaknesses of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system as they knew it. I asked the question in an attempt to determine if former participants recognized the system's weaknesses (whatever those might have been in the eyes of participants). Saliterman's (1971) analysis of data from teachers involved with textbook selection in ten states (IED, 1969) led her to believe that teachers were quick to accept the limits of whatever system they were a part of without challenging its assumptions (e.g., that new books were needed, that commercial textbooks were the best books):

> Perhaps because the outcome does not knowingly make a [measurable] difference, most teachers are quite satisfied with their semblance of

> control. Few chafe at the presence of formulas and rules restricting their freedoms. It is enough simply that they are free to choose from among a group of alternatives presented to them by the publishers. (Saliterman, 1971, p. 259)

I was curious to learn how former participants from each group might criticize the system and felt that a question pertaining to the system's weaknesses would allow them to identify any problems they might have experienced. Perhaps they would be "product" weaknesses? Certainly some educators, whether members of the textbook committee or Agency employees, might mention that state textbook adoption lends little support to the arguments for personalizing instruction. And perhaps there would be some mention of the problems brought about when a textbook must remain in use for six years before a replacement can be selected.

Some weaknesses might be attributed to the process. Conversations with former participants had produced comments about the overwhelming number of books to be reviewed and the inadequate amount of time available for that review. I had no expectations of what to expect, nor did I hold tentative hypotheses concerning what might be offered in response to my open question.

I also asked participants to identify the system's strengths. I imagined that there might be different strengths stressed by different groups, depending on the vantage point of each. For example, petitioners might perceive the inclusion of public participation as a major strength, while those at the TEA might believe that the regular review and adoption of new books for the state's public school classrooms was one of the system's greatest benefits.

Questions regarding the strengths and weaknesses of the Texas system were also seen as an indirect vehicle for identifying participants' notions of the system's purposes or intentions. Textbook committee members who might have felt that they had too little time in which to review each book carefully are identifying a systemic weakness. The criticism rests on the assumption that the system was designed for the purpose of providing adequate resources (time, funds, etc.) for thorough textbook evaluation. On the other hand, school board members who recognize that the system requires all books in a subject area to be similarly priced are citing a strength that is indeed one of the intentions of centralized textbook selection and adoption (see below).

If the intentions of the Texas textbook system can be implied from impressions of participants commenting on its strengths and weaknesses, then these responses can be compared with the results of a study aimed at establishing the intentionality of state-level textbook adoptions (Tulley, 1983). In his work, Tulley develops nine purposes or intentions for centralized systems based upon data gathered from all of the "adoption states." These include the intent to do the following:

1. control textbook costs or keep the costs as low as possible
2. control the marketing practices of the publishing industry
3. provide for public participation in the adoption process
4. ensure the periodic review and purchase of textbooks

5. save time and work for local school districts
6. provide structure and organization to the adoption process
7. allow the state to share responsibility for potentially controversial books
8. ensure some degree of statewide curricular uniformity
9. ensure the selection of quality textbooks

Perhaps these intents might be reflected in the strengths and weaknesses of the Texas system identified by many of its former participants. And if they were, it would be interesting to discover which group of respondents would mention which weaknesses and strengths as they relate to Tulley's nine intentions. It was logical to assume, for instance, that the STC members might see points 4, 5, 7, and perhaps 3 as particular strengths of the system given their vantage point. TEA personnel might cite points 2, 4, 6, 7, and certainly 1 & 8 as important from where they sit. I imagined items 1, 3, & 7 to be most important to SBE members. Tulley's final point was covered in my actual question regarding best books.

Summary: The Present Study Outlined

This study was designed to investigate and describe the politics of curriculum decisions as seen through the selection and adoption of textbooks for Texas. It was an attempt at what Kirst & Mosher (1969) call "mapping the field." It rests within the essential framework of the politics of education, with "politics" understood as the set of interactions that influence and shape the authoritative allocation of values and resources -- in this case, textbooks.

The prevalent guiding concept is "policy" or "policymaking," with state textbook decisions seen as tantamount to the operationalizing of state curriculum policy decisions during the period under study. These decisions fit comfortably within Mann's (1975) characteristics of policy problems, "which he described as public in nature, very consequential, complex, dominated by uncertainty, and involving competing interests" (Scribner & Englert, 1977, p. 26).

Though primarily descriptive in intent, the conceptual framework is modeled on that used by Mazzoni & Campbell (1976) in their work on the Educational Governance Project at The Ohio State University. Their framework was adapted from political systems theory (Easton, 1965) and allocative theory (Lasswell, 1936). Three general concepts guided my study: (1) system actors, whom I have called "key participants"; (2) textbook (policy) decisions, which I have identified as taking place within three separate phases; and (3) influence, as perceived by members of the decision groups.

Systems theory requires the researcher to remove the system from its environment for analytical purposes. My system consisted of three specific decision phases within the larger Texas textbook system as well as those who formally participated in that system during the relatively stable period from 1969 - 1981. These actors included three groups of decisionmakers -- the State Board of Education, the Commissioner of Education and his curriculum staff, and the State Textbook Committee -- and two groups of non-decisionmakers -- publishers and petitioners.

Having identified the system and its principals, my first focus question became (1) How do each of the three decision groups evaluate textbooks?

A singularly critical notion related to any study of policy decisionmaking is the notion of influence, defined as the ability of one person to change the actions or predispositions of another. Because influence was identified as a major factor in the understanding of the Texas textbook operation, the need to borrow from allocative theory arose:

> [T]he utility of a political systems orientation provide[s] the point of departure. This orientation emphasizes the functional relationships among the actors who constitute educational policy systems as demands are converted into decisions. Allocative theory was used to augment the political systems approach. Consistent with those insights, there was the assumption that education policymaking is a competitive process, the essence of which resides in the interplay of influence. The explanation for policy decisions, from this perspective, comes from revealing the patterns of accommodation among competing actors, actors who differ greatly in resources, intention, and skill. These patterns are organized through a governmental structure and are channeled and constrained by other systemic features as well. (Mazzoni & Campbell,1976, p. 4)

My second focus question pertained to the nature and extent of influence exerted by petitioners and publishers on textbook decisionmakers.

In order to operationalize this concept, I used a variation of the reputational method, one in which I asked those in each decision group to describe how, and to what extent, their decisions were influenced by the two groups of non-decisionmakers. The principal assumption in using this approach, according to Mazzoni & Campbell (1976, pp. 5-6), "is that such respondents have the knowledge and candor to provide valid general assessments."

Related to these focus questions were others which arose during the literature review and the preliminary investigation stage of my research. The first question, directly related to the need for decision groups to be perceived as authoritative, concerned State Textbook Committee membership. I wanted to know how and by whom those persons were identified, what criteria were used in their selection, and how they then found the hundreds of colleagues who would serve as their textbook advisors.

The second related question arose from the fact that these decisionmakers (most especially those who make up the STC) are representing large constituencies throughout the state. As such, they will adopt one of three representative styles in their attempt to act "in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 209). It would seem that much of the legitimacy of those decisions made by the textbook committee rests on their adopting a "delegate" style of representation, that is, their following the advice of their subject area specialists. My initial conversations and interviews, however, raised the question of whether these members actually do "vote their advisors." Because of this, textbook committee members were asked specific questions pertaining to how they actually used their advisors' information and whether or not they felt their actions would have been different from a randomly selected group of their colleagues. This was an attempt on my part to try and establish the "representational legitimacy" of STC decisions. A similar line of investigation was conducted with members of the SBE.

The final area of related interest centered around the impressions and beliefs of former key participants regarding the Texas textbook system as a whole. Participants were asked if the system succeeded in providing schools with the best possible textbooks. They were also asked to offer their impressions of its strengths and weaknesses, and were given an open opportunity to add other comments if they wished. These questions were guided by two general literature findings: the first, presented by Spalding (1955), among others, is the belief that participants in such procedures place the responsibility for successful outcomes (adopting the best books) on the strength of the procedure rather than on its participants. My second guide was a listing of intentions underlying centralized textbook adoptions developed by Tulley (1983). I hoped to see whether or not Texas participants would support any or all of these findings, and which decision groups felt the strongest about which intentions.

Motivated by the desire to answer these questions I explain in Chapter Three how the study was designed and the methods which were used to gather appropriate data.

NOTES

1. "[T]he state's power to regulate textbooks causes [representatives of the elementary and high school (elhi) textbook industry] to become involved in state political processes" (Thompson, 1976, p. 111). It might seem unwarranted to mention this fact except that, in earlier years, there had been some debate as to whether textbook decisions should be made by "secret committees" unknown to publishers' representatives (Edmundson, 1931; Mellott, 1953). The proposal of secret textbook adoptions was due to a concern held by many that textbooks were as likely to be *sold to* as *selected by* those responsible for such decisions (Spalding, 1955). While publishers were included in the new Texas scheme, great care was taken to control their activities.

2. Iannaccone & Cistone (1974, p. 3) briefly discuss the history of values behind public administration as outlined by Kaufman (1956):

> The earliest stress [representativeness] had its roots in the colonial period and was placed on representativeness in government. Neutral competence and executive leadership are of more recent vintage; the former reached its zenith at the beginning of the twentieth century and the latter after World War I. It is noteworthy that recent evidence points to a resurgence in the quest for representativeness, especially in educational decision-making.

3. In personal interviews with me on July 26 and August 1, 1984, Edgar

described ways in which the selection and adoption system underwent adjustments over the years. In an attempt to provide consistency throughout this study, I will cite these interviews according to a numbering system. Edgar's July interview is Tape no. 3 and his August interview covers Tape nos. 1 & 2.

4. For renditions of the public outcry in Texas during the late 1950s – early 1960s, see Raywid (1962) and Nelson & Roberts (1963).

5. There has always been a perception, in the minds of Mel & Norma Gabler at least, that educators are "like-minded." Mr. Gabler pointed this out while discussing the need to find textbook reviewers with a personal philosophy different from that represented in textbooks:

> If you have the same philosophy as the book, you'll never find anything wrong with it. And a person with the same philosophy as the book, then when we find something wrong, then they try and make it look like we're the ones that are oddballs. . . . I'll promise you one thing: after twenty-four years of reviewing [textbooks, we know that] the books do not hold the norms of the general public; the books hold the norms of a small percentage of Americans. Unfortunately, in the educational establishment, most of them hold that minority view. But see, when educators mingle with educators, along with their peers all the time, they soon get the idea they represent the *world*, when actually the value system of the educational establishment is decidedly not that of the general public. Because survey after survey has shown that at least three-quarters of Americans still hold to

> those same traditional values that we hold to. Whether it's the Gallup Poll or *Better Homes and Gardens* or Connecticut Mutual Life or whatever. And some of the later surveys show that, among the top educators -- not the teachers but . . . higher-up in the hierarchy, there's only a very *small* percentage of educators who still hold the traditional American values. (Tape no. 48; see also Hefley, 1976)

6. Mike Hudson, Austin spokesperson of People for the American Way, explains the motivation for his group's involvement with the Texas textbook system, and how they viewed the "petitioning" process as a whole:

> [W]hat caused us to look at Texas was that combination of . . . the Gablers and their influence, the State Board of Education apparently sympathizing with them or being sympathetic to their posture and agreeing with many of their positions, and . . . the influence that Texas seemed to have on textbooks across the country.
> [We wanted] to determine exactly what was wrong with the Texas system . . . that had allowed [the radical right's organization and influence] to occur. And there we found a number of things that we then proceeded to try to change that were really, in our view, out of whack and needed fixing. The first was this aberration of a due process system, or public participation system, that allowed only negative comment against textbooks and allowed no public *response* to those comments. In other words, you had to have a *criticism* of a

> book to be able to be heard. If you liked a book, or if you disagreed with some of the other criticisms, the public -- teachers, . . . citizens' groups, education groups -- could not be heard. Therefore, that gave those groups *with* criticisms an unfair advantage. It was only the *publishers* who could supposedly come back and defend their books. (Tape no. 37)

7. van Geel (1976) discusses the state educational governance structure and its allocative tasks. Boyd (1976) explains the role of regulative policies as allocative characteristics of educational policy questions. Layton (1967) categorized contemporary activities of state departments of education. One of these, regulation, was identified by Sroufe (1977, p. 20) as "a principal activity of state departments of education." Of the four types of educational policy issues framed by Iannaccone & Cistone (1974), those arising from routine decisions appear to be most prevalant (Smoley, 1965). As Dahl (1961, p. 141) states: "Policy-making in the schools is far more routinized . . ., it is far more professionalized -- one might say bureaucratized -- than in [political] parties . . ." See also Morphet & Jesser (1970) and Fuller & Pearson (1969).

8. Iannaccone found that the monolithic political structure was preferred by pedagogues and that it fit most comfortably with the model of informal, closed-system politics:

> Any group . . . will engage in boundary maintenance to stabilize their internal distributions of power, and will tend to develop a closed

> social system with closed cooptational politics as their preference, if the society allows it. Educationists are prone to cooptational politics because the behavior characteristic of effective teaching requires persuasion above all else. Hence, the preferred pattern of pledagogical [sic] politics, cooptational in nature, fits the requisite occupational skills. (Iannaccone, 1967, p. 99)

Mann (1974, p. 5) supports this thesis by describing educational administrators who

> feel that their greater store of knowledge francises [sic] and legitimates their decisions just as it disenfranchises and makes illegitimate the decisional participation of the lay person. The professional litany reinforces such attitudes by teaching that people who are not professionals are ipso facto not competent to participate in "professional" education decisions.

Of all state-level educational decisions, those involving curriculum and textbooks rest well above the median score of importance devised and reported on by Michael Kirst (1981).

9. Campbell & Mazzoni (1976) found that state boards rarely initiate or formulate curriculum policy but tend to give their approval to what the chief state school officer says should be done. This gives us reason to believe that, with regard to the adoption of textbooks, Texas state boards would have tended to give their approval to those books recommended by

the Commissioner. According to Mann, "representation, not participation, is the principal vehicle for attempts at the control of schools . . ." He goes on to note that

> Studies of school boards indicate that boards are in fact rather insulated from the communication of interests from much of their diverse constituency, and boards themselves are not much inclined to translate the representational responsibilities into attempts to control schools. Large parts of the task of representing the wishes and welfare of the public thus fall to professional educators, especially school administrators. This group, standing at the key intersection between the community and the delivery of schooling services, views its representational functions in ways that stress personal and professional autonomy, often at the expense of the community's expressed preferences. (Mann, 1977, p. 91)

10. These islands, according to Kaufman, are comprised of "core groups" and "satellite groups" working largely in worlds of their own. In his words:

> Every island is composed of a cluster of participants especially concerned with the types of decision that issue from it, and includes all categories of participants and all varieties of participation that share that common interest. All the participants in each cluster do not wield equal influence, and their strength tends to vary from

> decision to decision. Those persons authorized to announce official decisions or take official action -- to legitimate them by signature -- ordinarily occupy key positions in any cluster, and constitute what may be called "core groups"; the other members rotate around them to influence the contents of the issuances, and thus may be designated "satellite groups." The core groups, however, are not always, or even most of the time, the total masters of any cluster. Although their position is by definition central, it is the interaction of core and satellite groups that produces most decisions. Each constellation lives and works for the most part in a world of its own, largely unconcerned with what goes on in other areas except as these developments impinge upon its own central interests. (Kaufman, 1963, p. 110; see also Sayre & Kaufman,1960).

11. This strategy, as outlined by Charles Lindblom (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1963, pp. 83-110), is presented below. Examples of salient aspects of the Texas textbook system are provided.

Marginally-Dependent Choice ". . . only those policies are considered whose known or expected consequent social states differ from each other incrementally. . . . [and] whose known or expected consequences differ incrementally from the status quo. . . . [E]xamination of policies proceeds through comparative analysis of no more than the marginal or incremental differences . . . rather than an attempt at more comprehensive analysis . . . [and the] choice among policies is made by ranking in order of preference the increments by which social states differ" (pp. 85-86). We can expect serious consideration to be given to textbooks which are only marginally different from each other and those already in use. Books will be compared against each other's marginal differences and preferentially ranked according to those differences.

Restricted Variety of Policy Alternatives Considered "... restriction to policies that offer only incremental changes ..." (p. 88) No books which offered radically different format, content, etc., would be seriously considered.

Restricted Number of Consequences Considered for Any Given Policy "Sometimes the analyst explicitly [or deliberately] restricts his examination of policy consequences ..." (p. 90). Textbook decisionmakers cannot possibly fathom, let alone consider, all the consequences of their decisions, nor would they have the time to become involved in the lengthy discussion and debate accompanying such considerations. Questions like, "Does the state truly need new music books this year? What might happen if a decision were made *not* to adopt any of the math books offered for adoption if subject specialists were sincerely dissatisfied with them all?" would never be seriously considered.

Adjustments of Objectives to Policies "The analyst chooses as relevant objectives only those worth considering in view of the means actually at hand ..." (p. 94). Those charged with textbook selection must fit their personal and professional objectives, as well as the state's objectives represented in the wording of the proclamation, "into" the textbooks available for selection

Reconstructive Treatment of Data "Evaluation under the strategy requires firm and definite starting points, but is not rigidly bound to treat problems in their original forms. On the contrary, it transforms problems in the course of exploring data. Old possibilities are discarded, and new urgencies appear. Fact-systems are reconstructed as new ones are discovered. Policy proposals are redesigned as new views of the facts are adopted. As fact-systems are reconstructed and proposals redesigned, shifts occur in the values deemed relevant to settling the questions in hand " (p. 98). This reconstruction of fact-systems would seem to address itself most closely to the way in which the group uses the textbook proclamations as "firm and definite starting points" but goes beyond them as they gather information throughout the procedure. It might also come into play if it were found that these analysts, as Lindblom calls them, could "unmake" previous decisions as new and convincing data became available to them.

Serial Analysis and Evaluation "It is characteristic of political processes . . . that any single office, organization, or agency pursues a never-ending series of attacks on more or less permanent, though perhaps slowly changing, problems that lie within its field of interest or authority. . . . [T]hey take it for granted that their problems will rarely be "solved" but only alleviated" (p. 100). The "problem" in textbook selection, of course, is finding the best book, with "best" having a myriad of definitions among decisionmakers. Is it a book best suited for a particular student group, one with the best organization and presentation of content, a book easier to use in the classroom, or one which more appropriately depicts minorities? Even the McGuffey Readers underwent regular revision before they were replaced in the schools. The point is that textbook decisionmakers are not rendering utopian decisions or permanent solutions, on the problem of finding the absolute best book for everyone.

Remedial Orientation of Analysis and Evaluation "The characteristics of the strategy support and encourage the analyst to identify situations or ills from which to move *away* rather than goals *toward* which to move. Even short-term goals are defined largely in terms of reducing some observed ill rather than in terms of a known objective of another sort" (p. 102). Alleviating problems is a common practice when addressing value-based goals which are nearly impossible to define (e.g., good citizenship). A broader perspective of this phenomenon as it pertains to textbook selection and adoption might be visible if we were able to determine that, while undertaking the evaluation of materials, decision groups were actually choosing books which they did *not* want as much as those acceptable.

Social Fragmentation of Analysis and Evaluation "Analysis and evaluation are disjointed in the sense that various aspects of public policy and even various aspects of any one problem or problem area are analyzed at various points, with no apparent co-ordination and without articulation of parts that ideally characterizes subdivision of topic in synoptic [rational] problem solving" (pp. 105-106). The Texas system, as structured, is a working example of this fragmentation. While it may not be absolutely true that the procedure lacks coordination and articulation of its distinct parts (decisionmaking phases), it is true that separate groups representing different values and constituencies, and perhaps even focusing on different aspects of the books under consideration, undertake their tasks at different times and in different locations.

12. It must be noted that I was quite aware of the problems of "thin" data which often result from questionnaires. My design (see Chapter Three) employed an extensive use of interviews with survey respondents in order to gather more elaborative information pertaining to the survey questions.

13. Dahl (1976, pp. 25-26) noted that, although "influence-terms" such as power, influence, authority, control, persuasion, might, force, and coercion have been central to political analysis throughout history, most theorists (beginning with Aristotle) have assumed that they needed no great elaboration "because their meaning would be understood by men of common sense."

Kirst & Walker (1971, p. 488) have the following refinements to add to this common sense understanding and how it relates to curriculum policy:

> By influence we mean the ability to get others to act, think, or feel as one intends (Banfield, 1961). . . . A related concept is what Gergen (Bauer & Gergen, 1968) called points of leverage -- individuals or institutions that have the capacity to effect a substantial influence on the curriculum output of a school system. An individual or group that has leverage is one that can make a big difference on the outcome of conflicts over curriculum policy.

Kaufman (1963, p. 107) adds that

> the profusion of strategies and tactics for applying such leverage is a natural -- indeed, an inevitable -- outgrowth of the political environment. At any rate, multiformity is certainly the outstanding characteristic of the means of influence at the disposal of political participants. And these weapons are employed with vigor and imagination.

14. There is no evidence to suggest that publishers' influence was a result of routine and regular extra-legal or surreptitious practices. As players in this textbook "game," they pursued any number of deliberate and calculated strategies in order to get their share of the stakes. "When the stakes are high and the opportunities for maneuver seem endless," according to Kaufman (1963, p. 87), "the strategies may become intricate and ingenious." Nevertheless, such strategies are not necessarily unethical or illegal.

15. Iannaccone (1967, p. 100) argues that the activities of these committed petitioners who felt inadequately represented under existing arrangements "only underscores the close-system tendencies built into the government of education and reinforced by traditional educationists."

16. It is not unusual for these "lay experts" to base their decisions on their professional staff (the Commissioner and Agency personnel) according to Zola (1970) and Peterson (1974). Wirt (1976, p. 315) called this body "a minor participant in state school politics . . ." Bailey et al. (1962) described state boards as buffers between major bodies and offices of state government and the politics of the state's educational agency. Sroufe (1969) found their members to be a homogeneous group of

relatively wealthy persons of higher than average social standing whose elections were described as "nonevents." "The rule is that strong commissioners of education, exercising forceful professional leadership, have a ready soundingboard and supporting officialdom in their state boards " (Bailey et al., 1962, p. 27).

17. Eliot (1960) describes the function of the schoolboard as threefold: (1) to hire a competent superintendent; (2) to defend schools against public criticism; and (3) to persuade voters to provide sufficient funding. In this respect, they legitimate policy recommendations of the chief state school officer (Boyd, 1976; Peterson, 1974). According to Ziegler & Jennings (1974, p. 250), "boards are likely to become spokesmen *for* the superintendent *to* the community." Koerner (1968) notes that, although southern boards are apt to be more domineering than northern boards, all are permissive.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

> Research is a personal venture which, quite aside from its social benefits, is worth doing for its direct contribution to one's own self-realization. It can be taken as a way of meeting life with the maximum of stops open to get out of experience its most poignant significance, its most full-throated song. (Mooney, 1975, p. 176)

I undertook my data collection in a series of three overlapping steps which began in the late summer of 1984 and concluded in April, 1985. In this chapter, I explain the reasoning behind each of those steps, when and how they occurred, and the types and quantity of data collected.

Stages of the Study

Stage 1: Preliminary Investigation

Beginning in mid-summer, 1984, conversations and informal, unstructured interviews were held with individuals who had participated in the Texas state textbook selection and adoption system. The purpose of these early contacts was to determine the feasibility of using oral history interviews as a primary data source in conducting this study of textbook decisionmaking. I attempted to derive a sense of how well people remembered their actions, what sort of an understanding each had concerning the state's textbook adoption system, and what types of questions they would answer most easily. In addition to these concerns, I expected that these early meetings would allow me to insert myself to this area of study as well as to provide me with better direction.

My earliest encounters began with a simple request to former decisionmakers, such as, "Tell me about your experience(s) with the Texas textbook selection and adoption system." Oftentimes, this general prompt resulted in lengthy recollections. Simultaneously, I began my literature review, beginning with textbook selection in Texas and working back, eventually, through the areas of curriculum decisionmaking and educational policymaking and politics. As my preliminary interviews carried into the 1984-1985 school year, the coupling of this reading with the on-going collection of these oral histories resulted in my refining the interviews considerably. Salient issues emerged from the literature reviews which led me, for example, to look more closely at how each of these decisionmakers actually went about evaluating books, what criteria were most important to them, and whether or not they indeed compared books against each other. These concerns were incorporated into what was becoming a much more directed interview protocol, and I began to request that respondents allow me to tape record our discussions. In these, as in all of my future interviews, respondents were assured of confidentiality. Many waived this offer, although in several cases, publishers requested not only confidentiality but anonymity as well. These preliminary discussions and taped interviews involved a total of 16 people.

The more formal interviews focused in large part on the three decision groups, how individuals evaluated books, and whether or not the interviewee believed and felt the activities of petitioners and publishers had any influence on their decisions. Examples of questions asked include the following: "What criteria did you feel are most important to members of the State Board as they review textbooks prior to final adoption?" and, "To what extent, if any, do you think that the Commissioner was influenced in his textbook decisions by the petitioners?"

Two discoveries stood out as important during the period. I realized, first, that people who had regularly taken part in this system (this group included many publishers, petitioners, and members of the state's educational governance structure) offered memories of a procedure that had become generalizably routine to them. Oftentimes, during responses, this group of "veterans" related examples in an attempt to emphasize their response. I soon recognized that these examples were almost always exceptions to the "standard operating procedure." An illustration of this generalizability is offered in the following comments by one former State Board member:

> Respondent: I had a great deal of faith and confidence and trust in the quality of the people who served on the textbook committee and in their collective judgement. Quite frankly, I would have been perfectly agreeable . . . ah . . . with the exception of sometimes the books were too light on something that we had included in the proclamation we wanted them to be strong on, such as a chapter on drugs in the health

> book. Other than that, I would have been perfectly happy, you know, to accept what they deemed appropriate for classrooms in Texas.
> (Tape no. 29)

In contrast to this "general view," former members of the State Textbook Committee and textbook authors -- having taken part in the procedure only once -- had much more specific recollections and in some cases provided anecdotes pertaining to specific books/series or remember the names of individuals with whom they had had contact. For the most part, memories of their "once only" participation remained intact and their responses on the whole were quite valuable in their specificity. This sense of "unforgettableness" allowed me to act with more surety when, as it turned out, I chose to include the 1971 adoption as one of my cases for study.

The second discovery I made shortly after beginning my investigation had to do with members of the "elhi" textbook publishing industry. My preliminary interview requests and the comparatively few subsequent interviews constituted an overwhelming reluctance on the part of publishers of elementary and secondary school textbooks to discuss the Texas system. "People in this industry are gun shy," one industry representative explained, "because there is so much at stake." This tendency toward secrecy has been noted by writers studying the educational publishing industry (see, for example, Black, 1967; FitzGerald, 1981) as well as by those within the industry itself (AAP, 1976). This "paranoia," as it was described by one publisher during our conversation, was to prove a major factor in my eventual selection of case studies.

Well before October arrived, I decided that the project was viable and had begun formulating a workable design that would accommodate an oral history approach while providing an acceptable degree of methodological rigor. I began to pay more careful attention to the informants I contacted and included a discussion of my ideas for study in many of these meetings. With the help of my dissertation committee and the suggestions of many interested respondents I was able to arrive at a design which would serve my needs.

Stage 2: Selection of Case Studies, Survey Design and Distribution

Any systematic study -- historical or contemporary -- of decisionmaking within the Texas textbook selection and adoption system is burdened with a myriad of design problems, the most critical one of which is focus. Of all the "adoption states," Texas, with its annual public textbook hearings and internationally known textbook protestors, seems to produce more than its share of sensational textbook decisions. My intention from the outset was to steer clear of atypical cases; I wanted to know how "routine" textbook decisions were made. Careful selection of multiple case studies would allow careful generalizations to emerge from the study. Two criteria were important: (1) the cases selected shoould represent textbooks which had generated enough concern to have prompted action from the petitioners; and (2) none of the cases would have been seen as sensational or extraordinary at that time. Problems associated with these selections provided major design hurdles, some of which simply were impossible to clear.[1] My preliminary contacts and literature reviews indicated that success in establishing a workable focus would surely be my most difficult task. In this section, I describe the prominent variables used in my efforts to secure the multiple cases selected for study and the ways adequate focus was achieved within each case. The following section offers details concerning the distribution of my surveys which were described in Chapter Two.

Selection of case studies. Each year, the state of Texas adopts new textbooks in approximately one-sixth of the subject areas taught in its public elementary and secondary schools. There are few patterns in the subject areas to be adopted, and the books vary wildly. Elementary earth science, business law, bilingual basal readers, and psychology are a sample of the books which can be included (among others) for adoption during the same year. The annual spectrum of subjects presented the decision obstacle to my decision.

In an effort to bring my design into focus, I decided to select a single book/series *within* each of the multiple case study years. This decision provided me with several important advantages. First, it allowed me to make a further distinction among members of the STC. With the selection of a particular book (e. g., for theatre arts), I could now add the category "subject specialist" to those members of the textbook committee responding to my questionnaire who otherwise were subdivided only into groups of "teachers" and "non-teachers." At a later stage, as I selected representative respondents for in-depth interviews, at least one subject specialist was included within each year's interview pool. Because all

STC respondents felt most comfortable talking about the work done in evaluating and selecting books in their own subject area, I viewed as particularly valuable oral history data from this group of subject specialists.

Identifying this group also enabled me to more closely attend to responses which were being cross-checked between groups. For example, STC members were asked to identify what, in their opinion, was the major selling point publishers seemed to be emphasizing in their contacts with committee members. Nearly 55% of the 1980 STC respondents reported that publishers emphasized "organization and presentation of content" above all else, while 27% perceived the emphasis to be "adherance to the proclamation," and the remaining 18% recalled publishers emphasizing "pedagogical strength" as their reading series' major strength. When asked how Ginn's series was emphasized during presentations before the STC, one of the publishers who took part in those presentations responded:

> One of the things we emphasized that developed as one of our strengths is the pedagogical strength, the instructional strength, the research-based strength of the program and the fact that we had demonstrated and had extensive learner verification data by that time of how powerful the program was in use. . . . Then it would have been, I think, the pedagogy, the research base, the teaching effectiveness and learner effectiveness that we emphasized first . . . and that would have been fairly overwhelming . . . (Tape no. 31)

Since one of the possible responses available to STC members was "Effectiveness" (e.g., learner verification), it would seem from this publisher's response that, what appeared to be a "fairly overwhelming" emphasis on pedagogy and effectiveness was either overlooked by his audience or so unique among the collection of publishers' presentations that it was simply lost to general memory. In any case, subject specialist committee member data were believed to be of distinct importance to this study.[2]

A second advantage to selecting one book/series was that in doing so, I was automatically provided with a workable universe of publishers and petitioners. The adoption of a quantity of various books each year brings a large cast of non-decisionmakers into the procedure. By selecting a single text, I could concentrate my efforts at gathering data on one group of identifiable publishers rather than use a shotgun approach in my interviews with those individuals. The same was true of petitioners: identifying a single text would define those persons with whom I would use as petitioner informants. I knew from preliminary interviews that publishing field representatives often move from one company to another. Yet, with the production and submission of each book, certain individuals (authors, editors, or consultants, etc.), defined as publishers for this study, would carry pertinent memories of that year's adoption. I needed oral histories that were as case-specific as possible, and staying with one book/series could provide these.

I also knew from my examination of state records and my reading the popular press that Texas textbook adoptions spawned the perennial activity of several petitioners -- Mel and Norma Gabler being the most frequent contributors. I expected to find they had participated in each of the three cases I selected (which proved not to be true), and I hoped to supplement the Gabler's 20 years of familiarity with that of other persons or groups who submitted protests to my selected textbooks.

Identification of sub-groups (subject specialists, petitioners, and publishers) was, then, the major purpose in deciding to focus on a single book or series within each year chosen for my multiple case study approach. Isolating sub-groups would enable me to investigate the nature and extent of influence publishers and petitioners might have had on textbook decisions. This decision also narrowed the scope of my work with state records and documents.

My guiding criteria had been to select curriculum subjects which (1) generated concern and activity from petitioners and (2) proved to be "routine" or unsensational in a given year. As I mentioned earlier, I had hoped that the selection of multiple cases for study would allow me to at least suggest some generalities in decisionmaking practices within the time frame I had established as a stable period. To lend some legitimacy to this intention, I would have to select three *different* subjects. Obviously, a design of this nature, for example, using three high-school biology adoptions would encourage similar hopes for generalities, though only in the area of biology. Each subject area has its own proponents and opponents, its own problems with proclamation interpretation, its own group of Agency curriculum experts, and above all, its own history within the Texas textbook selection and adoption system. By selecting three distinctly different subject areas, I felt more certain that my data would reflect a much more generic understanding of these former decisionmaking practices.

For similar reasons, I decided to look for cases which were not clustered in one period of time. This would lessen the probability of extraordinary influence resulting from a national "movement" such as that of curriculum relevance in the late 1960's or that of censorship in the mid-1970's. While there was never any intention on my part to look at case study data as representative of some decade or time span, I was hoping to find cases that were evenly distributed throughout the period ranging from 1961 - 1981. Unfortunately, this was not possible.

Additional variables were added as my preliminary interviews progressed. These arose from my discussions with publishers and are briefly offered here as concerns for the "size" of a publisher and the "status" of the book or series.

When I speak of a publisher's "size," I mean not only a firm's rank on a list of the 10 largest book publishers (see *U.S. Book Publishing Yearbook & Directory*) or its parent company connection, but its ability to maintain a large, year-round presence within the state of Texas. This issue first arose in informal discussion when I learned that, during the "Round Robin" period (the summer before the Fall adoption) in which all publishers visit the various textbook committee members and advisor groups, some of the smaller publishers must hire temporary staff and call in representatives from elsewhere in the country in order to have enough people to conduct a successful state-wide campaign. A retired publisher felt that "big" publishing houses which maintain a year-round staff of personnel whose job it is to stay in touch with the Texas educational community had a definite advantage during an adoption cycle. He referred to these companies as having "well-oiled Texas machines."

This perception of an advantage to size was mentioned quite casually by at least two other former publishers -- often enough that I decided to try to select books which represented one obviously large publishing firm, one which was not so large perhaps (at least not, for example, when using Knowledge Industry Publications' revenue estimates), and one which was comparably small by anyone's standards.

The second predominant variable coming out of my preliminary sessions with publishers is a collection of perceptions I have labeled as the "status" of the book/series. Securing the adoption of a large, elementary textbook series is far more critical to an elhi publisher (not only in terms of revenue to the company but of the job futures of its field representatives) than that of a single high school text. I surmised that I could provide balance to this concern by varying the size and subject area of adoption. The reputation of the particular firm within the subject field was another matter thought important by publishers and mentioned by at least one educator. Perhaps this "reputational visibility" variable could be managed by searching for instances in which "unknown" publishers were bidding books in an area thought to be dominated by those with more recognizable names.

The issue discussed most often, one I include in this "status of the book/series" variable, is whether or not there is an advantage in having one's texts already in the Texas schools. The question first arose as a consequence of a published description of the Texas adoption procedure which said, in part, that

> [Texas Education] Agency subject matter specialists, well aware of these new [curriculum] directions, work with teachers throughout the Texas to determine the best possible type of textbooks and other materials for future use.
>
> Then, Agency consultants work with representatives of publishing companies, showing them the curriculum trends and kinds of materials teachers wish they had now -- and will certainly demand in a year or two.
>
> Once the new texts are at least in galley proof stage and certain to be available, the Agency writes proclamations for new textbooks. Now the actual adoption ritual begins. (How textbooks . . ., 1972, p. C2)

I wondered after reading this description if those publishers whose books were in use throughout the Texas schools would not have some advantage, for example, in knowing long before the proclamations were produced what changes were to be called for, and what aspects of their books were particularly strong or weak. I also wondered whether there were not, perhaps, advantages to those firms whose materials had yielded numerous satisfied customers.

The question of whether or not having a book in place in Texas schools was raised with all publishers who participated in my preliminary conversations and interviews. Both positive and negative speculations were offered, most of which came near the following publisher's remarks when asked about advantages to having his books already in Texas classrooms:

> Publisher: It's mixed a little bit. There is something called classroom fatigue . . . If your materials work in the classroom; if they're easy to teach; if they get results; if . . . they don't cause a lot of aberrations in the way one has to teach . . . it can be a real advantage. As *long* as the teachers haven't got what we'll call fatigue -- serious fatigue which they occasionally get: we want something new just 'cause we want something new; that we've taught that selection over and over and we don't like it . . .
> Interviewer: What about [from] a developmental perspective?
> Publisher: From a developmental standpoint I think it's *greatly* advantageous . . . (Tape no. 14)

Reminiscent of the on-going speculations regarding the use of color in textbook illustrations, speculations regarding publishers' size and the status of the book or series exist in the minds of publishers. Given this, I decided to do what I could to respect their concerns as I selected those books which would be used as focal points of my study. In the end, I was successful in choosing publishers of varying sizes and adoptions of varying sizes (both in total numbers of books needed by the state and in total dollar value to the publishers). In addition, my selections included a basal reading series produced by a firm with a nationwide reputation in that field, an elementary social studies series produced by a high-name recognition firm producing its first series for this field, and a high school economics text published by a small firm whose reputation rested with its production of computer-related peripherals and ancillary materials and which was entering this subject area for the first time. None of these books or series were in the Texas schools prior to the adoption under study. Furthermore, each of the selected cases is unique to Texas textbook selection and adoption in the following respects: 1971 was the first year that Texas called for a complete elementary social studies series (grades 1-6); 1980 was the first year that the state adopted a complete (readiness through grade eight) basal reading series (prior to 1980, the readers had been adopted in three stages K-3, 4-6, & 7-8 due to the enormous cost outlay needed for a complete series); and 1981 was the first year in which the goals of the state-mandated free enterprise course were combined with those of the subject of economics to produce a proclamation calling for "Textbooks [which] shall assist students in developing an understanding of the principles of economics and knowledge of the American free enterprise system."

The most difficult task in selecting these cases for study, however, was finding publishers who were even willing to talk with me about Texas textbook selection and adoption, let alone participate in some more in-depth manner. With the exception of Sterling Swift, owner of Sterling Swift Publishing Company in Austin, Texas, most of the publishers I contacted either neglected to respond to my letter of inquiry or, in two cases, simply refused to participate. Only with the assistance and influence of several education professors at The University of Texas at Austin was I able to secure the necessary cooperation of publishers connected with two additional books/series. I understand the weakness of having to select case studies primarily on the basis of the agreement of key participants to allow such investigation to proceed, but I believe that those shortcomings were far outweighed by the advantages of having specific publishers' observations and insights. In some respects, this may be my study's greatest limitation and in other dimensions, its greatest strength.

The case studies. *Elementary Social Studies -- 1971*: Sixteen firms submitted books in this subject area. It was the first time Texas had called for a complete textbook series covering grades 1-6 and, according to members of the TEA curriculum staff responsible for writing this proclamation, the first time publishers had produced such series for what was known as "the new social studies." I selected the *Seeing Near and Far* series edited by O.L. Davis, Jr. and published by the American Book Company (ABC). For the purposes of this study, American is seen as a company which cannot be comfortably called a "large" elhi publisher but is certainly not a "small" one. ABC did not have elementary social studies books in Texas classrooms at the time of this adoption.

In 1971, Texas needed more than 1.5 million social studies books for distribution throughout grades 1-6 during the first three years of its textbook contracts. American's series (six books) was priced at $35.01. "Making the list" in Texas allows a publisher an equal chance at sharing the market with no more than four other firms; if American had done so, it might have been possible to capture 20% of the sales in this subject area. Selling 50,000 series would have produced revenues in excess of 1.8 million dollars, a comparatively moderate stake when compared with the state's purchase of reading textbooks (as we shall see below).

Basal Reading -- 1980: There were twelve different basal reading series submitted in this premier K-8 basal series adoption. The series I selected was *Reading 720*, edited by Ted Clymer and offered by Ginn & Company. Compared to American Book Company, Ginn is a "large" elhi publishing firm (owned by Gulf & Western). Ginn entered the 1980 reading adoption with some of its supplementary readers already in use in the upper elementary grades. Texas expected to purchase more than 4 million reading books between 1981-1984. The price of the Ginn series (fifteen books covering eleven levels) was $91.47. Since each adopted series might capture about one-fifth of the Texas market, Ginn's being listed might have resulted in initial (3 year) sales of more than 800,000 series, thus bringing Ginn revenues in excess of 7 million dollars. This is an example of a possible "large" sale.

High School Economics -- 1981: This call resulted in offerings from eleven different publishers. I selected a book entitled *Hard Choices: The Economics of the American Free Enterprise System* (2nd edition) for focus in this case. The book was co-authored by William A. and Geneva J. Luker and published by the Sterling Swift Publishing Company. Swift is a small, Austin-based firm which had never before published an economics book for use in high schools. Seventy thousand economics books would be needed during the first three years of the adoption period and, if Swift could capture twenty percent of these sales, its $14.95 book would bring revenues in the neighborhood of 150 thousand dollars. Compared to the other cases, this would be a small sale.

With the selection of these cases for study, I succeeded in isolating periods from which to gather historical data and key participants who had taken part as decisionmakers during each of those years. I had also provided myself with a significant amount of additional focus by using specific textbooks within each year to narrow the number of documents and records to be used and to guide me to related Agency personnel, publishers, and petitioners. In the section below, I describe how survey instruments for the three decisionmaking groups were designed and distributed.

How participant surveys were designed. Survey instruments were a combination of questions arising from the literature (see Chapter Two) and protocols which emerged during my informal interviews and evolved throughout my preliminary stage of research. An example follows of how my interest in who was selected to serve on the State Textbook Committee developed into a question included on the survey instruments. It is offered as representative of how most of the Texas-specific questions took shape.

Summer, 1984 -- I read through some of the records and documents at the TEA. The following excerpts are recorded in the minutes of the May 10, 1984 State Textbook Committee meeting (*Report of the State Textbook*

Committee. . ., 1984, pp. vii-viii):

> Mrs. Grimes [Deputy Commissioner for Professional Development and Support], speaking to the newly appointed members of the STC: "Each Committee member was selected for unique characteristics and expertise and these special qualities should be utilized in making their decisions."
> (Secretary's note): "Mr. Perry [Director, Textbook Division] further discussed the Committee selection process. Nominations are submitted to the Commissioner of Education and screened according to eligibility and expertise in specific subject areas."
> [Mrs. Grimes adds]: . . . "the majority of whom are classroom teachers with unusual backgrounds of training and are recognized teachers in the field."

Summer, 1984 -- I receive a former commissioner's response to my question "What sort of process was involved with the appointing of a State Textbook Committee?" "First, we would try to find some good strong school administrators to form a nucleus . . . people who were used to dealing in a competitive process. Maybe two or three administrators we felt could be firm and fair . . . . Then, we always put on a majority of teachers, maybe some supervisors and principals . . . but . . . there were always at least eight or nine that were teachers. These were teachers that were known to our staff . . . who we felt were outstanding in each subject field . . . . If we didn't know for sure about a person [needed for a certain subject area], I would call the superintendent [from a district noted for its strength in that area in order to locate a strong teacher in that field] who could stand this public exposure and competitive competition . . ."

Summer, 1984 -- I note while looking through the brief biographical sketches of STC members contained in the State Board agendas that most appointees belong to several professional organizations. I also note that occasionally, members are recognized as having served as an advisor to a former committee appointee. Perhaps this prior service provides them recognition as practiced textbook evaluators?

Fall, 1984 -- I read Spalding's (1955) argument concerning the composition of textbook selection committees in which he posits that, without some tested "theory" of a good textbook, political appointment of members results. In his words, ". . . the aim is to find persons whose decisions will be accepted with little dissent and whose choice of books will be readily used" (p. 172).

Fall, 1984 -- I read notes from a conversation with a former STC advisor. We were discussing how much work committee members put into the summer-long task. I mentioned that giving up a summer vacation might deter some from accepting the position. She replied that she would give "anything" to be appointed, saying that she had even asked how to go about doing so and was told to write her elected State Board member. She feared, however, that no matter how well qualified she was, the honor would never be hers because she was trained and had taught in a northern state. "I'll bet there's never *been* a Yankee on that committee!" was how she put it.

Late Fall, 1984 -- I interview a former employee of en elhi publisher who had since become a teacher and subject specialist.

> Respondent: When I asked [a friend at TEA] how to get [an appointment to the STC] she said Well, you kinda have to campaign for it.
> Interviewer: What did she mean by that?
> Respondent: I don't know; she's kind of closed-mouth about some things. But I gather that if you really wanted it and were well qualified for it, you could get the word to your superintendent who would get the word to the Commissioner -- if you had a superintendent who was in the good old boy network. (Tape no. 6)

This variety of responses to the seemingly simple question of who is selected to the textbook committee resulted in my asking members of all decision groups for offer comment. Commissioners and Agency personnel were asked (during their interviews) to provide a detailed description of how that process took place. Former STC members, asked why they were selected, could choose one of four possible responses: (1) I actively sought the position; (2) I had expertise in the area of textbook evaluation; (3) I was selected because of my experience and performance as an educator as well as my professional activities; and (4) Other (please specify). Finally, State Board members were asked to describe the criteria used in the selection of textbook committee members.

As the surveys neared their final form, they were pre-tested in conversations and interviews with former Agency personnel and two former advisors to members of the textbook committee. No former members of the State Board of Education could be found who would participate in this final revision of the survey instruments. Before the mailing date, final versions of the three instruments (one each for former STC and SBE members, and one to be used with TEA personnel, including former commissioners) were reviewed by a Texas Education Agency administrator who had a thorough understanding of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system as well as a member of the faculty at the College of Education at The University of Texas at Austin who has experience with the collection of both survey and interview data. Each survey contained inquiries into the areas surrounding my primary focus questions as well as related questions which surfaced during my literature review and preliminary investigation period.

Before describing the mailing procedures, I need to intrude an appropriate digression. My conceptualization of the state textbook system in Texas during its more stable years includes three decisionmaking phases. During the second phase, the Commissioner of Education -- acting in large part on information based upon the reviews of his curriculum staff -- could decide what changes were necessary in order for textbooks to remain on the lists submitted for recommendation by the State

Textbook Committee and could remove books from these recommended lists for a variety of reasons. Preliminary interviews held with two former commissioners and an Agency administrator, and a conversation with another Agency administrator convinced me that TEA staff, who play a critical role in the preparation of textbook proclamations, operated in much more than an advisory role during this phase. Former Commissioner Edgar remembers how his staff and he worked on the wording of the proclamations:

> I think, probably, they knew my philosophy and they knew my method of operation; they knew my likes and dislikes and all of that. And I'm sure . . . that they tried to, within a broad context, stay within what they felt I would accept. I don't think that was the *determining* factor . . . Sometimes we would meet to talk about what ought to be in certain textbooks. . . . They influenced me a great deal. . . . And they would argue with me . . . I guess most of the time they convinced me [to go along with their thinking]. (Tape no. 1)

Commissioner Edgar relied heavily on his staff of curriculum experts. They were hired as professional experts to provide objective information and carry out professional duties called for by the chief state school officer. Edgar recalled during the same interview that he would occasionally have to over-rule their recommendations when their thinking in some curriculum area did not fit comfortably with his. "They were almost as independent as college professors," he mused.

My point is that Edgar's textbook decisions rested heavily upon information provided by his curriculum staff. In the opinion of at least two Agency staff with whom I spoke, reliance on the arguments and decisions of curriculum staff became much more commonplace during the tenures of the three subsequent Commissioners (Brockette, Bowen, and Bynum). Although the ultimate decisions belonged to the Commissioner and no one else, I believe that in all but the most extraordinary of circumstances, his decisions mirrored those carefully formulated by his Agency staff. Because of this assumption, I included TEA personnel within the phase two decision group.

How participant surveys were distributed. With that explanation, I can speak more comfortably of this TEA group which was to receive a questionnaire. As it turned out, a different Commissioner served during each of my selected case studies. I had interviewed one of these gentlemen during my preliminary phase and decided both to request personal meetings with the others and to use the questionnaire as an interview protocol. Similarly, I learned that, although a small number of Agency staff may participate in a textbook adoption, usually one member assumes staff responsibility in each subject area. These staff leaders carry the primary responsibilities of drafting proclamations and reviewing textbooks during the phase two decisions. I decided to limit my pool of Agency respondents to these subject area "leaders," a decision which also enabled me to forego mailing their questionnaires. Because this number of people was small and because all but two of the respondents lived in Austin, I used the TEA survey instruments as an interview protocol with this group (see Appendix A)

Having decided to conduct interviews with all members of the TEA group, I mailed questionnaires only to members of the State Textbook Committee and of the State Board of Education active during the three years of my study. Each initial mailing included a cover letter written by Grace Grimes, Deputy Commissioner for Professional Development and Support, Texas Education Agency (see Appendix B), my cover letter (see Appendix C), and a stamped, self-addressed return envelope. Each survey was coded to enable me to identify representative respondents for in-depth interviewing during the final data gathering stage. Respondents were assured that data from these questionnaires would be used in aggregate form and that they would not be individually identified in my analysis and report. For those whose home addresses and telephone numbers I was unable to secure, an additional note was included requesting that this information be provided with the completed instrument.[4] These surveys were mailed on December 31, 1984, to each member of the STC (N=45) and SBE (n=43) serving during the years 1971, 1980, and 1981.[5]

A second mailing was completed on February 1, 1985. Surveys were re-coded (with the same number followed by the letter 'A') and were accompanied by a brief "reminder" letter (see Appendix D) and a self-addressed, stamped envelope. These surveys and letters were sent to all non-respondents (STC = 17; SBE = 16) and asked to be returned by mid-February so that I could begin the final data gathering sequence in March. The State Board members' survey instrument appears in Appendix E, and the State Textbook Committee members' form in Appendix F.

Stage 3: Document Reviews and In-depth Interviews

While my surveys were out during January and February of 1985, I sent letters explaining my project and requesting participation from identified members of the petitioner, publisher, and TEA groups associated with the textbooks which I had chosen for focus.[6] I planned March interviews in order to allow myself time to gather background data about the participants from available state records and documents.

In all the interviews I conducted with decisionmakers and non-decisionmakers alike, my ability to elicit and probe informants was due in large part to my having paid close attention to data which is available in the form of state-held records and documents. Below, I describe how those data enabled me to raise and formulate questions which were later incorporated into the personal interviews.

Reviewing pertinent documents. The first months of 1985 were the period in which I studied state records and documents pertinent to each case under study. These consisted primarily of minutes of SBE and STC meetings, Bills of Particulars and publishers responses, transcripts of hearings before the STC and Commissioner, education statutes and administration codes, and "contact" registers -- records of all meetings between publishers and members of the STC during what is referred to as the "contact period."[7] These records and documents proved valuable not only in my later attempts to interpret data but in conducting my follow-up interviews as well.

During these document searches, information which seemed important was either copied electronically or in longhand and filed according to year and group (1971 TEA file, 1980 SBE file, etc.). As I became more familiar with these data, questions arose and were noted, such as "Why would some members of the STC have more than 60 advisors while others as few as 19?" and "How could anyone possibly manage to organize and stay in touch with 67 advisors?" Questions such as these arising from my study of state records and documents were put into a general file kept for each key participant group and later used as a basis for probing questions during the interviews. In the case of STC members, these questions centered on categories which included their selection and work with advisors, their contacts with publishers and petitioners, and the balloting process (see Appendix G). Categories for members of the State Board included their work with the proclamation wording, their awareness of the textbooks throughout the process, and their adoption voting (see Appendix H). TEA categories included their involvement in the identification of textbook committee members, the orientation of these committee members, and Agency relationships with petitioners and publishers (see Appendix I). Using this scheme, I was better able to prepare for the gathering of interview data from each of these groups. These same documents were again reviewed prior to the reporting of the case study data in Chapter Four.

Conducting in-depth interviews. Decisions within the Texas textbook selection and adoption system are the responsibilities of three distinct groups -- the State Textbook Committee, State Board of Education, and the

Commissioner of Education (with the help of his professional staff). Each of these groups communicates with two other groups -- textbook publishers and textbook protesters -- identified as equally important key participants within this process. Questionnaire data were collected from the two large decisionmaking groups (STC & SBE). Representative respondents from both, in addition to members within each of the remaining three groups, were interviewed during this study. In the following section, I both describe how I selected interview respondents from the pool of SBE & STC survey respondents, and provide examples of the interview techniques used with each group of interviewees.

Identifying STC & SBE interview respondents. In late February, 1985, prior to interviewing representatives from each of the targeted groups, I administered survey instruments to four non-respondents by telephone in order to allay fears of sample bias (Sudman & Bradburn, 1984). No noteworthy differences were found in responses, and these completed instruments were added to their appropriate data pools. Ranked and forced-answer responses from each of the two instruments were assigned numerical values. Surveys were then grouped according to categories (1971 STC, 1971 SBE, etc.) and analyzed. This provided cumulative rank scores which were recorded on a master copy of the survey form for each of the six categories.

Questions which required written responses (e.g., How, if at all, might the Texas system of textbook selection and adoption be altered or improved?) were analyzed and categories established (one of the categories established for the question above was "time," and included recommendations for the shortening or lengthening of one or more of the system's phases). These categories, the numbers of respondents mentioning each, and individual quotations serving as representative comments of the modal response were then added to each master copy. Upon completion, I had two master copies for each year under study: one representing STC member responses and another depicting answers offered by former State Board members.

With these master copies at hand, I was able to return to the individual instruments and identify those from each of the six groups whose responses most nearly reflected the aggregate data. I do not mean to suggest that these matched perfectly, but in most cases, the total number of responses were not radically different on the whole from those recorded on the master copy.[8] Using the coding key, I then learned the names and telephone numbers of my representative respondents who would be asked to participate in in-depth oral history interviews.[9]

All persons identified in this fashion were contacted by telephone during the month of March, 1985. At that time, I explained my purpose for calling and asked if they would consider taking part in a follow-up tape-recorded interview. I assured each informant that her/his identity would not be disclosed and urged that each include a written request for confidentiality at the bottom of the release form which I would send following our interview conversation (see Appendix J). Most interviews were conducted by telephone in the evening or on the weekend. All but two interviews were tape recorded and lasted an average of 45 minutes. One person refused my request and another could not be reached after six attempts. They were replaced by other respondents from their respective groups.

Table 1 displays the numbers and percentages of State Textbook Committee members who responded to the survey and who were interviewed representing each of the years included in this research. Of the eleven non-responses, four were either deceased or had moved (their surveys were returned to me by the Post Office). Six of the remaining seven unreturned questionnaires were mailed to members in care of the school or district in which they were employed at the time of their service (see endnote 4). Quite possibly, these former STC members may never have received their instruments.

Table 2 displays the same categories for SBE members. Of the total of fifteen non-respondents, nine are either deceased or no longer live at the address I had for them, and two were members whose surveys were returned as undeliverable. In considering these data, the fact must be recalled that three of the respondents served during each of the years presented, and that respondents for the years 1980 and 1981 are identical with the exception of one person unique to each year. Of the total number of SBE respondents (N = 18), ten served only in 1971, thirteen were active in both 1980 & 1981, three held membership in each of the years, one was only present only for 1980, and one only for 1981.

The oral history interviews closely followed the format established in their respective questionnaires. Prior to each interview, I read over the aggregate responses on the appropriate master survey and, in the case of STC members, the files of personal notes, balloting records, biographical

Table 1

State Textbook Committee Member Data Collection Figures

	1971	1980	1981
Number of Members	15	15	15
Number of Respondents	9[1]	11[1]	14
Percent of Membership Responding	60	73.3	93.3
Number of Respondents Interviewed	3	3	4
Percent of Respondents Interviewed	33.3	27	28.5

Note.

1. This number includes one telephone survey administered for bias check.

Table 2

State Board of Education Member Data Collection Figures

	1971	1980	1981
Number of Members	21	23[1]	23[2]
Number of Respondents	13[3]	17[4]	17[5]
Percent of Membership Responding	61.9	73.9	73.9
Number of Respondents Interviewed	4[6]	5[7]	6[8]
Percent of Respondents Interviewed	30	29.4	35.2

Notes.

1. This number includes 3 members from the 1971 board.
2. This number includes only two different members from the 1980 board.
3. This includes two telephone surveys administered for bias check.
4. This number includes 3 responses from members also serving in1971.
5. This response group was identical to that of 1980 with the exception of one respondent who was new to the 1981 board. His data were added to this group replacing those from one 1980 member who was gone in1981.
6. These interviews were conducted with 1971 members only.
7. Included in this group was one of the 3 members who served during each of the three years selected.
8. This number represents the same four interviews conducted for the 1980 group with the addition of one member new to the board in 1981.

information, publisher contacts, proclamations, and other information relevant to the year in which they served. Where appropriate, I noted information which I thought might be useful during the ensuing interview (e.g., unusual remarks on their questionnaire, whether or not this person was a teacher or administrator, a subject specialist or non-subject specialist). During the conversation, interviewees were asked, for the most part, to elaborate their survey responses and questioned about their interpretations of phrases or wordings I had elected to use. Examples of these two sorts of questions are offered below:

> Interviewer: I had a series of questions in there about the other people who participate who are non-decisionnmakers -- the groups of petitioners and . . . publishers. [Regarding question no. 6] My question about petitioners was, when they filed their Bills of Particulars and when they spoke at the hearings, I asked you to describe what you thought was *their* emphasis. And I gave you the same responses as yours [from question no. 5; I read the responses]. And you responded that you thought that *their* focus was something completely different [he had checked "Other"]. . . . You said it was their conservative or liberal values.
> Respondent: Well, they were from one extreme to the other. . . [continues explanation]. (Tape no. 26)

> Interviewer: Now you responded to the next question [I read question no. 11]; you answered it took place as a result of their personal

> contacts as opposed to [I read the other responses]. So I'm real curious to know how you interpreted that . . . (Tape no. 17)

Information also emerged from survey responses and on-going interviews which I thought important enough to mention during subsequent discussions. Item number 13 on the STC form asked respondents to describe the major criteria they used in selecting their textbook advisors. I was naive to think that all textbook committee members personally selected their advisors. One member who described herself as a Primary Reading Teacher at the time of her service was representative of numerous others who told me they were not personally chosen: "They were chosen by consultants in the various subjects up for adoption -- for their performance and knowledge of subject matter" (Survey no. 162). Learning that not all members selected their advisors prompted me to ask each interviewee how her/his advisors were selected and, if selected by others, how they were screened (if at all), instructed, and/or kept in touch with throughout the review period.

Ten interviews were conducted with former State Textbook Committee members, representing a minimum of 27% of respondents from each year under investigation. Ten former State Board of Education members were interviewed, representing a minimum of 29% of each year's respondents. Interviews in these categories lasted an average of 30 minutes.

Identifying Texas Education Agency interview respondents. Because of the comparatively small number of persons within this decision group and because all but two lived in the Austin area, I decided not to mail their questionnaires but to use those instruments as the basis for an interview protocol. As I noted earlier, these are veteran members of the state educational governance structure and, like board members, some petitioners and many publishers take part in the textbook selection and adoption system annually. With the exception of the curriculum experts -- all of whom attempted to speak as directly as they could to the year I was most interested in -- their information regarding the system and their participation within it must be seen as global in nature.

A different Commissioner of Education served during each of the textbook cases selected for this study. One of these men had participated in my series of preliminary interviews, and I reviewed my records of these tapes in order to determine whether or not we had covered all necessary areas related to the survey instrument. Feeling satisfied that we had, I did not conduct another interview with him. The other two former state educational leaders were contacted by mail in January. I telephoned each in March and made the necessary interview arrangements. These interviews were also tape recorded and followed the general outline of the survey instrument/protocol. Each lasted over one hour.

As February drew to a close, I arranged a meeting with the Agency's Associate Commissioner for Curriculum Development. During that meeting, we discussed my research, and I explained my need to contact those personnel directly connected with the subject area adoptions I was focusing upon. This gentleman provided me with the description of how proclamations were drafted and textbooks reviewed for the Commissioner.

I used this information to justify limiting my pool of TEA curriculum respondents to just three. In brief, I learned that tasks related to state textbook selection and adoption were shared by several people within a content area, and all of their work passed this Associate Commissioner's office before reaching the Commissioner. However, when I gave him my three years of cases and the specific subject area within each, he quickly named one individual in each instance who had assumed the major responsibilities for these Agency tasks. These were the three curriculum individuals from the TEA I chose to interview.

Like that of the Commissioner, TEA staff member interviews tended to follow the instrument/protocol constructed in December. Questions centered around the drafting of proclamations, identification and selection of STC members, and the review of textbooks during the second decisionmaking phase. Additional inquiries were made in areas which had arisen during previous conversations and interviews. For example, earlier interviews, conversations, and documents had suggested a close working relationship between publishers and TEA personnel. Depending on how one wishes to interpret this relationship, it could be seen as an attempt by publishers to influence important state employees to look favorably on their product or simply to stay abreast of the direction in which the Agency might go with its forthcoming proclamations. On the other hand, one might argue that these publishers provide a conduit of information regarding national trends affecting learning materials, information which benefits TEA staff in their work within curriculum areas and, eventually, in their formulation of proclamations. Because of previous references to this relationship, curriculum staff were asked to offer comment -- not only on these relationships but those with each of the other sets of key participants involved with textbook selection and adoption.

Six people from this group -- the Commissioner and elementary social studies specialist in 1971, the Commissioner and basal reading specialist in 1980, and the Commissioner and economics specialist in 1981 -- were finally interviewed from this group of decisionmakers. In addition to these members, conversations and/or interviews were held with the one remaining former Commissioner and four additional Agency personnel connected with the acquisition of textbooks, bringing the total number of informants in this group to eleven.

Identifying elhi publishing industry interview respondents. Earlier, I indicated that one of the values in selecting specific textbooks for focus within each case study year was that this decision provided me with manageable groups of non-decisionmaking key participants. Publishers constitute one of these groups.

I intended to locate and interview at least three publishers connected with each book/series chosen (this group is defined as anyone with a vested financial interest who was directly connected with the production or distribution of these books). Locating these people was not easy, but after many weeks, many letters, and numerous telephone calls, I succeeded in contacting and interviewing nine of these men. In the interest of respondent confidentiality, I am forced to speak of this group in a much more vague way throughout this study than I will of the other key respondents. With the exception of the authors, these men (they all happened to be men) will only be identified as publishers despite the fact that their group represents a broad spectrum of industry positions ranging from the publisher's home office to the classrooms of Texas. All remain gainfully employed as publishers (though some are now with different companies), and allowing them to be identified would serve no purpose for my study. It is sufficient to say that each man played an important role in the submission of one of the textbooks I have chosen for this work.

Information sought from this group is, in a sense, similar to that sought from curriculum experts at the TEA. That is, publishers were asked to speak directly to the textbook which held my place of primary concern. When circumstances called for generalization, they were asked to keep those generalizations within the subject category (e.g., basal readers). Nevertheless, I expected that men who have been in this business for dozens of years would, like the Agency experts, be given to global impressions as well. The authors, of course, like STC members, held impressions of a unique nature in each circumstance, and were able to provide the most specific information from this group.

Interviews with members of this group followed a loosely-designed protocol (see Appendix K) designed to elicit comment in four broad categories. Publishers were first asked to describe the role played by the proclamations in the design and production of their product. They were then asked to describe how the book was "shepherded" through the system (only the Swift economics book, in 1981, was selected for statewide adoption adoption).

Questions pertaining to the several decision groups followed. These responses were intended for use as a "counter-data pool" and were related to questions and aggregate responses of each decisionmaking group. Prior to each publisher interview, I once again reviewed my files and survey responses in an attempt to better focus my inquiry. After doing this, I found that two sorts of specific questions became possible -- one which was general and referred directly to a questionnaire response, and one which was exact and of a definite probing nature. Examples of each of these types of questions follow:

> Interviewer: [This question is related to STC items 5 & 14, SBE items 4, 5 & 10, and similar questions asked of the TEA personnel.] I wonder if you could speculate as to how the decisionmakers -- and again, I'm calling those three groups the State Textbook Committee, the Commissioner and his staff, and the State Board -- how they go about evaluating their books? In other words, how do you think that they actually sit down and go through the process?
> Respondent: Well, I know what they're *supposed* to do. . .(Tape no. 31)

> Interviewer: I noticed in going through the records that, while other companies offering [competing] books visited [one STC member] as many as 13 times, you and your people only had three official contacts. Was that something you were conscious of? Was it planned? Weren't you worried about the frequent contacts by your competitors? (Tape no. 39)

Data from this group proved invaluable to my study of Texas textbook decisionmaking. These men and women appeared to be at least as well-informed about the system and its nuances as were the Texas Education Agency personnel and in some respects (e.g., their perceptions of how STC members and advisors make decisions), perhaps more so. As much as they could, they offered candid impressions about how and why decisions are made that simply never surfaced from any of the other source groups. Further, they played an important role in my efforts to understand the nature and extent of influence they exerted on the system's actors.

A total of seven interviews were held with publishers directly connected with the three textbooks selected for study. Each was tape recorded, and most lasted about one hour. These publisher interviews, when added to those interviews and conversations held during the preliminary stage and throughout the research period, brought the total number of informants in this group to fifteen.

Identifying textbook petitioner interview respondents. Two people filed Bills of Particular against the 1971 American Book Company elementary social studies series, five against Ginn's 1980 basal readers, and fourteen against Swift's economics book in 1981. In each of these cases, all of those signing Bills of Particulars did not actually testify at the public hearings. The number of protesters who actually participated in the formal hearings was reduced to one in 1971, three in 1980, and one in 1981. These five persons became my pool of respondents from this important group of non-decisionmakers. Like the other participants, members of this group received letters in January and February explaining my investigation and requesting their support. I was to learn shortly that this would be the most obstreperous group of all. Each petitioner was difficult to contact, and only one was quick and courteous in answering my interview request. Overall, I found them to be remarkably cautious regarding my interest in learning more about their activities.

Throughout the first four months of 1984, a handful of separate, unrelated instances occurred wherein someone had neglected to respond to my letter of inquiry or could not be located with ease. In each of these cases, I managed to contact her or him by writing a follow-up letter, making a telephone call, or using others to locate needed respondents. (In one case, when I learned that one of the 1971 publishers was no longer working for American Book Company and no one there could tell me where he had gone, I wrote to the Texas Textbook Publishers Association to learn of his whereabouts.) But the petitioners proved a considerably greater challenge. Shortly after mailing those letters, I received a response from one petitioner which read as follows:

> Dear Mr. Marshall:
> I am interested in your research concerning the decision making aspects of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system.
> I would like to be informed of whom [sic] you represent and how you intend to use this material.
> Would appreciate your information on these matters.
>
> YOURS TRULY;
> _signature_
> _name_

This letter was followed several days later by a note from another petitioner informing me that she had not actually read the textbook I was interested in: "I merely co-signed [the other protester's] petition in the event that should possible illness occur, etc." I did, eventually, manage to reach the protestor who had not taken ill.

A third petitioner had moved, and my letter was returned stamped "Undeliverable as addressed. Forwarding order expired." A fourth broke the hex about two weeks later and agreed rather enthusiastically to take part. The fifth "protester" received two letters and two telephone calls before agreeing to an interview. Even after agreeing to the telephone interviews, two petitioners would not sign release forms until they first received copies of my taped interview with them.

I include this trail of problems in order to highlight a dimension of the petitioner group, one which I and most others consider to be very significant key participants. While state documents contain all of the petitioners' written protests as well as transcriptions of their testimony before the Commissioner and textbook committee, I was intent on trying to learn their motivation, how they actually evaluated books, how they attempted to influence decisionmakers beyond the formal aspects of the system, how they evaluated their own efforts, and finally, with which decisionmaking group they felt they had the most success. These questions, then, formed the bases of my interview protocol for this group (see Appendix L).

Again, I combed my own files and, when necessary, returned to the original documents in order to prepare myself for these interviews. With the exception of the Gablers, who have been appearing as petitioners annually for years, petitioners were asked to address their particular experience regarding the years and subject areas for which they had been chosen by me as participants. Like those of publishers, petitioners' responses in many instances were elicited in order to establish what I have called a counter-data pool; that is, when committee members were asked, for example, which of the petitioners' actions influenced them most, petitioners were asked how they attempted to influence these committee members and which of those actions they felt were most influential. Also like the publishing group, there were questions of a much more particular nature.

By the end of April, I had succeeded in interviewing four of the five targeted petitioners. All were tape recorded, and the average interview lasted approximately thirty minutes. In an effort to better understand this group in the broadest sense, I decided to conduct two additional interviews with persons who have had experience as petitioners but who had made no direct protests of my focus books. Including these additional petitioners brings the total number of interviewees in this group to six.

Summary

In this chapter I described my three-step data gathering procedure which took place between June, 1984 - April, 1985. The preliminary stage involved conversations and informal interviews with 15 former key participants in the Texas textbook selection and adoption system. During that time, I reviewed the literature related to educational policy decisionmaking, educational politics, curriculum policy, and textbook selection and adoption and refined initial interview protocols. I simultaneously began work on the survey instruments to be used with the three decisionmaking groups.

Using these oral history data coupled with information gleaned from the literature, I was able to further refine and test survey instruments before asking them to be screened by knowledgeable individuals prior to their distribution. The primary task of the second stage of data gathering involved my decision to use a multiple case study design, with three cases to be selected from what I identified as the most "stable" period of Texas state textbook adoptions. This decision directed me to those particular decisionmakers who participated during each year. It was necessary to further refine the focus of each case by selecting one textbook from each in order to isolate the key participants within each of the two non-decisionmaking groups -- petitioners and publishers. I selected books in subject areas of former adoptions which had not proven "sensational" (the 1974 adoption of seventh and eighth grade readers proved sensational when the Economy Company, whose books were removed from the list by the State Board, sued three petitioners for conspiracy to libel) and yet elicited petitioner activity. After speaking with a number of publishers and reviewing other data, I added further criteria. These included (1) selecting publishers/textbooks which varied with respect to the size of the firm and number of books considered in the sale; (2) varying the selections with respect to what I have called the status of the book/series in submission; and (3) locating publishers who would agree to participate in my study. The most influential criterion proved to be gaining the assurance of three different publishers to participate. By mid-November, I had selected case studies which met these criteria.

Determining cases for study provided me with a defined universe of key participants in each significant group. Upon learning of the relatively small number of TEA personnel involved (a category which includes the Commissioner of Education), I decided against mailing their questionnaires and arranged for in-depth interviews with each member of this group (N = 6). In late December I mailed survey instruments to all members of the STC and SBE who served during each of my selected years. A follow-up mailing was done at the beginning of February. Cumulative response rates exceeded seventy-three percent for the State Textbook Committee and sixty-five percent for members of the State Board of Education.

The final step in my gathering of data included the screening of state records and documents and the conducting of in-depth interviews with representative respondents of the two large decisionmaking groups and all willing members of the remaining four key participant groups. Throughout the early months of 1985, I reviewed state records and documents as well as associated print materials (e.g., newspapers) in an attempt to construct files containing pertinent data for each case. At the end of February, I administered four surveys by telephone in order to provide a check for respondent bias. Once this was completed, I compiled questionnaire data from each of the six sub-groups (1971 STC, 1971 SBE, etc.) and transferred them in aggregate form to their respective master copies. Using these master forms, I selected a minimum of 25% of respondents from each category whose individual questionnaires most closely reflected the modal responses from the aggregate data. With only one exception, these representative respondents included a subject specialist from each year -- a variable thought to be imperative in reconstructing the case studies. I added this "missing" subject specialist to the pool of representative respondents, which became my pool of candidates for oral history interviews. A total of ten former STC members and ten former SBE members participated in interviews aimed at gathering elaborative data to enhance that which was on hand from the questionnaires.

I conducted similar interviews with non-decisionmakers, including at least two publishers connected with each textbook, resulting in a total of seven case-specific interviews. Four (of five) case-related petitioners agreed to be interviewed.

In short, the vast majority of key participants who are still alive and who had one sort of intimate involvement or another with the 1971 Texas elementary social studies adoption (and the series submitted by the American Book Company), the 1980 basal reading adoption (and the series submitted by Ginn & Company), and the 1981 high school economics adoption (and the book submitted by the Sterling Swift Publishing Company) have provided a rich base of survey and oral history data for this study. These data, in combination with primary and secondary sources available, serve as the foundation for the historical reconstruction of each case study offered in the chapter which follows.

NOTES

1. Perhaps the most critical to my design (which relied most heavily on oral history data) was the impossibility of even learning the names of the hundreds of advisors who work each year in concert with STC members. No official lists are archived by the TEA, and many textbook committee members, I was to learn later, had never even known their advisors personally.

2. As my research progressed, I was elated to learn that this decision to select a single subject field also provided me, for each year, with a single Agency curriculum specialist who bore the primary responsibility for drafting the proclamation and for reviewing the books selected by the STC.

3. I do not feel that this is a critical variable because there are publishers who argue that size, in the sense that I have used it here, is not an issue. Virtually all elhi publishers marketing large series in the basic subject areas such as reading and mathematics maintain a southwest regional office in Texas and a full time staff of sales representatives and consultants. What is perceived by some as an unbalanced advantage by large companies may be more true with regard to venture capital available for financing and production of these multi-million dollar series than with their presentation and representation within the Texas adoption procedure.

4. Mailing addresses and telephone numbers had to be constructed for all survey respondents. This was accomplished, not without problems, through use of the collection of telephone directories housed at the Barker Texas History Center, The University of Texas at Austin. Instruments for

three former SBE members had to be sent in care of General Delivery because street addresses could not be found. Twenty-eight STC surveys (62%) had to be sent to the school or district in which individuals were employed at the time of their service on this committee because I could not identify them with reasonable assurance by using local telephone books (for example, a sizable number of people with the surname "Howard" live in San Antonio!). My having to send so many surveys to non-home locations is believed to have had a slightly negative effect on my response rate.

5. Because of the nature of the system under study, I expected two quite different types of survey and interview data. Serving only once, theirs is a comparatively unique experience to members of the State Board and TEA personnel who take part in this system annually. Because of this single textbook decisionmaking experience for STC members, I assumed that information from the latter two groups (TEA and SBE) would be of a much more general nature than that of the former group. This expectation can be depicted graphically in the analysis of survey distribution. Fifteen different individuals served on the State Textbook Committee during each of the case study years; however, membership on the State Board of Education was a minimum six year term. In 1971, the board consisted of 21 members, all of whom received questionnaires. The board had grown to 23 members by 1980, three of whom had been serving since 1971. Only the nineteen new members received questionnaires. During the 1982 adoption cycle, two new members were seated on the board and two from the previous year were gone (neither being one of the continuing members

since 1971). Therefore, only these two new members of the 1981 board received questionnaires. The total number of SBE surveys mailed can be divided -- *and were analyzed*-- as follows:

18 members (of 21) serving only in 1971
18 members (of 23) serving in both 1980 & 1981
3 members serving each year under study
2 members serving only in 1980
2 members serving only in 1981
—
43 total members surveyed

No attempt was made in either the surveys or the follow-up interviews to have these people recall the specific book/series I focused on during each year.

6. I wanted to talk with at least three publishers who had a direct involvement with each book/series: someone connected with the production of the book, the author, and someone connected with marketing. State records provided me with the names and addresses of five persons or groups filing Bills in the years 1971, 1980, and 1981. During this period, all received letters outlining my work and requesting their cooperation. While I was looking for specific information, I realized that, in the 1971 case, the only protesters against the Amercian Book Company's series were Mel and Norma Gabler -- known for their intensive involvement over the past 20 years. I believed that I would not be able to rely on case-specific responses from them; nevertheless, I did attempt to keep

our interview aimed at elementary social studies books in general. For each of the other cases, petitioners spoke directly to the textbook of interest.

7. The law requiring such records went into effect in 1971, but the state is not required to keep these records more than four years. For this reason, contact registers were not available for the 1971 elementary social studies adoption.

8. There were two conscious deviations from this method. One involved cases where responses matched closely on all questions except the one which asked whether the system succeeded in providing the best possible books or not. There, I purposely chose one respondent from each of the two groups who answered "No" in order to hear her or his explanations for that particular answer.

9. The other exception to this "blind" selection involved STC interviews only. Once representative respondents had been selected, I checked to see that I had selected at least one subject specialist in my focus area; that is, I wanted to be certain that I would be interviewing at least one elementary social studies person in 1971, one reading specialist in 1980, and one economics specialist in 1981. This seemed important in light of my design, which included specific information from publishers and petitioners regarding these subjects in their respective years. I learned that my blind selection had indeed produced these people in two of the three years; the third person was added purposefully.

CHAPTER FOUR

Presentation of Case Study Data

> Dr. Donald Lutz, an associate professor of political science at the University of Houston, calls the Texas system of textbook hearings *before* adoption and purchase "an excellent example of the democratic system in action, a model for other states to emulate." (Hefley, 1976, p. 11)

> Who influences curriculum decision making? Nearly any organization, at any level, that has a concern. Who controls curriculum decision making? No one. (Phillips & Hawthorne, 1978, p. 365)

> Democratic procedures, for all their virtues, can and often do produce ludicrous results. (Sweet, 1982, p. 689)

In this chapter, data from the selected case studies are presented. All survey and interview data presented are those gathered from participants unique to each of the years studied unless otherwise noted (with the exception of the more recent SBE members as explained in Chapter Three).

Prior to the writing of each case, original documents held at the Texas Education Agency were checked once again and my personal files for each year under study were checked against the original documents to make certain that all citations were correct and that no information of possible value to this work had been missed. These data, along with those from the surveys and interviews, were then mindfully studied according to the outline of topics and sub-topics used throughout this chapter. Briefly, all data relevant to "STC Textbook Evaluation," were noted on a single sheet of paper, data belonging to the heading "TEA Textbook Evaluation" were noted on a second sheet, and so on. When finished, I had fifteen individual pages of notes directing me to document sources, survey items, and transcription numbers (corresponding to the counter on my tape recorder), one page for each section of the case studies as they were to be reported (see below).

The research design selected for use in this study required the gathering of multiple forms of data -- primary and secondary historical documents, questionnaire responses, and oral history interviews -- representing three years the Texas textbook selection and adoption system operated: 1971, 1980, and 1981. It is, nevertheless, important to keep in mind that, with the exception of the members of the State Textbook Committee and an occasional petitioner, most other respondents were veterans who participated in the system for many years. These veterans were asked to respond to the particular subject area and/or textbook connected with each year os study whenever possible.

Case studies are reported in succession, beginning with the earliest year. Data are presented as they pertain to the original focus questions and the three emergent questions in the order in which they were originally conceptualized. An outline of this pattern of case study data presentation is presented below.

Major focus question number 1: How were textbooks evaluated by the
STC members
TEA personnel
SBE members

Major focus question number 2: What was the nature and extent, if any, of *petitioner* influence upon
STC members
TEA personnel
SBE members

What was the nature and extent, if any, of *publisher* influence upon
STC members
TEA personnel
SBE members

Related question number 1: What could be learned about the selection of the State Textbook Committee and their advisors?

Related question number 2: What can be said about the degree to which decision groups represented their constituencies in general or their advisors in particular?

Related question number 3: What can be learned about the nature of the procedure as it relates to the acquisition of Texas textbooks?

Case Number One: 1971 Elementary Social Studies Adoption

Publisher: American Book Company (ABC)

Major Textbook Evaluation Criteria Used by Decisionmakers

State Textbook Committee Members

Seven of the nine STC members responding (78%) ranked "organization and presentation of content" as one of their top three evaluation criteria. "Pedagogical strength (best tool)" and "adherence to the proclamation" shared the second most frequent placement among the top three criteria of six (66%) of the nine respondents. During the interviews, I asked members to describe how they had interpreted or used these criteria. Most responses were vague and somewhat confusing to me and their description of one criterion seemed often to "leak" into a description of another. When asked to describe how the criterion "organization and presentation of content" had guided her textbook reviews, one member explained how books (in this case, language books) were organized differently. "Some stressed, for instance, the oral approach a lot more than the others did. Some, naturally, concentrated on grammar. And I felt that both were more important. I chose the ones that I felt would be a good tool to teach either approach" (Tape no. 54).

Another example of this "leakage" between categories is apparent in the following respondent's explanation of "pedagogical strength" (which might also be interpreted as a description of "organization and presentation of content").

> I certainly was looking for [pause] skills that the students could learn from those books. . . . Appeal to students. Whether there was a variety of [pause] material in the books [pause] illustrations -- whether they were attractive or appealing to students. Things along that nature. (Tape no. 16)

The category "adherence to the proclamation" was interpreted in two ways: for some, it was presumed that all books met these guidelines and that the proclamations, as evaluative criteria, were of limited use: "That is one of the criteria -- I think -- that most textbook manufacturers used, and very few . . . did not have all of the requirements in their book *someplace*" (Tape no. 54). Others found these proclamations important from a pragmatic standpoint.

> I myself eliminated quite a few series because they did not meet the

> proclamation. I was very . . . conservative, that is, in following the proclamation first of all. And then looking at that group of books, you know, six or seven, that really met the proclamation. You know -- you set priorities. Some didn't have . . . I mean . . . I didn't know if they were for America . . . That type of thing. (Tape no. 26)

It would appear from these responses that while the proclamations, as evaluative criteria, were just as important as determining whether or not the books would be good "teaching tools," and slightly less important than how content was organized and presented, none of the interviewees were able to agree on their definitions or usage.

An important elaboration of this question pertains to the actual mechanics of their textbook evaluations. The record shows that members were provided with "some instruments . . . that would be helpful to them in carrying on their work during the summer months" (Texas Education Agency, 1971, p. viii). All of those interviewed said that they did use a sort of "score card" method for evaluating books, and that these were used by their advisors as well. Some committee members actually utilized these forms in meetings with publishers, saying, in effect, "This is what we're going to look for; tell us how your book fits" (Tape no. 47). Copies of these evaluation instruments were no longer available, nor were there versions of the 1971 instruments available from the TEA. Nevertheless, it may be safe to assume that evaluative instruments used by this textbook committee were not too different from those provided by the Agency to more recent textbook committee members (see Appendix M).

The central importance of the proclamations in the Texas textbook procedure cannot be understated. "Our orientation was the proclamation, as far as what to look for in textbooks . . ." was the way one committee member described the charge they received from then Commissioner Edgar (Tape no. 26). Indeed, minutes from the May 7 STC orientation meeting held in Austin show that the Commissioner "pointed out that the basic controlling instrument of the adoption of 1971 would be the proclamation issued by the State Board of Education on May 3, 1971, and the description of course content included therein" (Texas Education Agency, 1971, p. viii).

We can see that textbooks selected by the 1971 STC for recommendation to the Commissioner and his staff were judged on the bases of how well their content was organized and presented, how well they met the proclamations, and whether or not they would be good teaching tools. Their decisions were then forwarded to those at the Texas Education Agency.

Texas Education Agency Personnel

It is important enough to repeat at this point that, although it is the Commissioner of Education who ultimately makes decisions during the second phase of this procedure, he does so in concert with his staff. "[W]hen you're talking about the Commissioner, you're talking about his use of his department heads and his staff in the selection process" according to one of the former commissioners. "And it's probably that staff, in the long run, that has more impact on the selection process" (Tape no. 12).

I learned almost immediately that those charged with the evaluations and decisions at this phase had a decidedly different agenda than did those serving on the textbook committee. The most obviously different criterion used during the second decision phase was that of cost. Former Commissioner Edgar explained how he operated on the assumption that all books selected by the textbook committee were of equal quality. Given that premise, there would be no real reason why they ought not to be comparatively priced (Tape no. 3). (Note: Cost was not a consideration for STC members.)

When I asked how Agency staff evaluated those books, one of the predominant themes seemed to be that they read the books as editors. "[T]hey read and examine every line and every page," Commissioner Brockette replied during one of my preliminary interviews. "They make all kind[s] of recommendations for [changing] typographical errors and everything that they try to pick up" (Tape no. 12). I asked the member of the Agency responsible for writing the elementary social studies proclamations how the books were evaluated. "In reading the textbooks, what [staff] always looked for was if something looked like an error, or a misleading statement. . . . We checked everything. It was read carefully by members of the staff" (Tape no. 35). Even one of that year's petitioners agreed that the TEA staff "undoubtedly do [read each book line by line] because they catch a lot of . . . punctuation [and] spelling errors and so forth" (Tape no. 48). These errors and editorial concerns were then presented to the respective publishers who were expected to make all necessary changes.

Data gathered from 1971 Agency respondents indicate that their *primary* evaluation tool was the proclamation. This holds true to information I had received during a preliminary interview with former Commissioner Brockette. "The staff," he explained, ". . . was instructed to go by the proclamation, and to bring me examples of where the proclamation was violated" (Tape no. 12). But it raises a problem when we consider that the STC found the proclamations to be one of the most important criteria of their own. Did the greatest value of this second decision phase rest in the finding of errors and the equalization of prices, or was this decision group using the proclamations in a somehow different fashion than did the first?

Using social studies for his example, this publisher provides a picture of how the Agency personnel used the proclamations:

> In truth, . . . the Commissioner . . . has been able to make judgements in the past based *only* upon recommendations from his staff. And those staff people who see those particular books are the specialists in that particular area of instruction. . . .
> [Agency staff looks] over the content [of the] materials to see if there are any errors -- any glaring errors that the committee has found or that they might find. . . . They look for questionable situations that might be [a difference in] interpretation. . . . [Settling such differences] is done sometimes through a[n] across the table confrontation . . . among themselves. And then, if they can't decide what they're going to recommend, the Commissioner does make the final decision. (Tape no. 8)

We might say, then, that although this group was using the same fundamental set of guidelines as the textbook committee, it was their *interpretation* which was decidedly different.

When asked about using the proclamation for making these "judgement calls" which were sometimes at odds with those made by the previous decision group, the Commissioner Edgar, who served during this adoption year, answered: "I tried in every instance to respect the responsibility of the textbook committee; not to substitute my judgement for theirs unless there was some compelling reason to do so" (Tape no. 3). In situations involving questionable content, the Commissioner worked closely with the publishers in an effort to change the book(s) -- to make them "stronger." In brief, the process went something like this:

> We [TEA personnel] felt that some of the books that came in [from the STC decision process] didn't reflect the proclamation, the description of the content in the proclamation. That they didn't really reflect the philosophy of the public schools of Texas, or for some other reason they needed to be strengthened. So we would analyze the books . . . and go over them very carefully. And then I'd contact the publisher and send him a list saying what we want done to the books.
> (Tape no. 3)

I asked Edgar what sorts of things prompted these actions. He again spoke of editorial corrections and cost aberrations, both of which publishers were expected to correct and neither of which was a responsibility of the textbook committee. Pressed for an example of a book that didn't philosophically reflect the content call of the proclamation, the former Commissioner offered the following story:

> I remember one book . . . it was a fifth grade history. It was a delightfully readable book, very entertaining [and] well written. It's subject matter was [long pause] flagrantly out of context with our philosophy. I had to take the book off, I remember, because, for example, one whole chapter was devoted to Marilyn Monroe, her life and her death and what she had done. I can't remember now the reasoning of the author for using her as an example of a good American. Of course, [this content had brought] all kinds of fire from the protesters. To dispel that kind of [pause] I took that book off. It was hard to do because again, it was the kind of book that every kid would have read. (Tape no. 3)[15]

From these discussions, it appears that the members of this second decision group had three criteria for evaluating textbooks: comparative cost, production and/or factual errors, and the proclamations. However, their use of the proclamation was different from that of the textbook committee. The following passage taken from the social studies proclamation for 1971 can be illustrative.

> As a part of this sequence of world studies, content for the program should provide opportunity for pupils to encounter and learn about

> various aspects of the American heritage, especially the multicultural nature of the society and its history. (Texas Education Agency, 1971, March, p. 25)

It appears that while the STC may have looked to see that the elementary social studies programs contained a variety of "aspects of the American heritage," for example, the TEA group was likely to ask *which* aspects of the American heritage were provided for student encounter. Decisions based upon interpretations regarding such questions were made, at this phase, by Agency personnel who were well trained and endeavored to keep their fingers on the pulse of Texas public education (Tape nos. 1, 2, &12). Ironically, it was a pulse driven by Texas educators themselves!

> Interviewer: And are these changes [you asked publishers to make regarding the book's "fit" with the proclamation] that somehow or another the [textbook] committee itself missed?
> Commissioner: Well, we felt that they did. Yes. I guess that's the harsh way of saying it. (Tape no. 3)

Thus far we have seen that the State Textbook Committee paid slightly more attention to the way content is organized and presented in textbooks than it did to how well books fit the proclamation guidelines or their strength as teaching tools. Those at the Agency, including the social studies curriculum expert, looked at the books from a different perspective. This decision group made no comparative evaluations; indeed, they operated on the assumption that all of the books were "equally good." Their charge, instead, was to "fix" any of the textbooks needing repairs. Their evaluations had two apparent foci: (1) the technical aspects of the books -- price, factual and print errors, etc.; and (2) the content aspects of the book -- pictures, stories, presentations, etc. Their responsibilities included the making of value determinations about the appropriateness of textbook content, the legitimacy of which rested in their sense of familiarity with the needs and desires of the state's public school personnel. While not able to add books to any list, those at the Agency could require changes from the publishers and delete books when necessary. Deletions were unusual, according to the Commissioner, because "99.99% of the time [publishers] were willing to make the changes [we requested]" (Tape no. 2). American Book Company's social studies series did not make the list that year, and of the series which did, none were removed by the Commissioner. On October 29 of that year, approximately six weeks after receiving the lists of STC selections, the Commissioner filed his textbook recommendations with the State Board.

State Board of Education Members

Members of this body who waited for the commissioner's official report had ten days to evaluate the recommended books before final adoption actions. The small number of petitioners would be heard at the board's regularly called meeting on November 8, 1971. Nine of the thirteen 1971 SBE members responding to my survey (70%) said that they typically sought an awareness of the textbooks to be adopted *before* their November meeting. This awareness ranged from reading through the official recommendations of the Commissioner (Tape no. 15) to reviewing (or having advisors review) one or more of the textbooks. Fifty-four percent of the board members responding typically looked at some of the books while 7.5% said they looked at most of the books recommended by the Commissioner. Of the remaining five respondents, three (23%) said they had advisors look at some of the books and two (15%) typically had advisors look at each of the books.[2]

In cases where advisors were used, "teachers" was the category checked by 46% of the respondents, followed by "subject specialists" (38%), "parents" (31%) and students (7.5%). Board members could, and did, contact State Textbook Committee members and/or advisors who had served from their congressional district to ask about the books recommended by the Commissioner. This was the case with one former board member who, when asked who his advisors had been, answered "[T]he local teachers -- I asked for their comments [pause] You know, the local ones from this area on the textbook committee" (Tape no. 15). Situations such as these provided quick information and required no additional review of the books. In other cases, books were obtained from Regional Service Centers and reviewed for board members by local teachers or parents (and, according to one member, students).

Interview data indicate that most of those who did their own evaluation and review obtained copies of the books and/or information concerning the books from the Agency staff (who had just completed their evaluations): "Of course, any book we wanted, the staff would have them sent to us" (Tape no. 22). I believe that the advisor category "subject specialists" was interpreted to mean TEA staff by many of these board respondents. During our conversations, SBE members often referred to the importance of "our staff" regarding textbook matters. In some cases, staff directed members to books or parts of books "under fire":

> I examined those [which were challenged, especially the controversial parts]. I was very diligent to study all the agendas of the [textbook] meetings. . . . I didn't examine all the books, no. I didn't pretend to. I did examine the parts, though, that were challenged. All of them. . . . We relied a lot on the professional staff on those matters.
> (Tape no.32)

At times, some members relied entirely on the staff to provide them with expert opinions regarding textbooks. This was particularly true in certain subjects: "[Math] was too specialized for me to be knowledgeable about, yet I was expected to take action . . . So I needed professional help so to speak" (Tape no. 21). Several members commented on the strong, valuable relationships they had with members of the staff (Tape nos. 22 & 15).

These discussions helped me to understand what was an initially inexplainable series of responses when asked to rank order the criteria used *by them or their advisors* in evaluating textbooks. While I had expected this group to pay closest attention to how the books adhered to the proclamations, 85% included "pedagogical strength" (best tool) as one of their three most important criteria. "Organization and presentation of content" and "adherence to the proclamation" were listed as most important by 54% of the respondents, and "professional reports, evaluations, journal reviews, etc." by forty-six percent. How could a collection of lay persons defend the evaluation of professional tools they would never use?

I learned, however, that it was typically the practice of the board to accept the decisions of the STC and recommendations of the TEA personnel. I gathered from the interviews that their contacts with STC members and TEA personnel and their use of these and other educators to obtain professional textbook evaluations and reviews led them to interpret the question much more broadly than I had expected; that is, since so many educators had screened the textbooks they were eventually to use in their own classrooms, board members were simply identifying the pervasive incorporation of the "pedagogical strength" criterion throughout the procedure as a whole.

This is not to suggest, however, that most board members ignored textbooks. As one former member recalled:

> I did not want to go into the [SBE] hearings without some idea of, not all the textbooks, but particularly the books that I felt like I was not very knowledgeable in. Certain subjects. I wanted to be more versed before that came along. . . . And I did it more to get an idea of what was going on in the textbook, not to try and pick and choose which textbook was the best. I just wanted to get familiar with what the publishers were doing. (Tape no.21)

All of these interviewees expressed their faith in and reliance upon professional decisions and opinions regarding those books. The system's design provided for "maximum professional input" (Survey no. 252) from Texas educators operating through the textbook committee. Those decisions, and their subsequent review by Agency staff, in addition to professional advisor reviews left board members feeling certain about the professional soundness of the books about to be adopted.

Textbooks were reviewed in board committees. It was in these committees that the board members received additional input from TEA staff -- information of the sort which might be less likely to emerge during the public meeting the following day:

> The discussions at the board were open, but we had already had a pretty good briefing from the staff and we could ask questions in these committee meetings that we might hesitate to ask at an open meeting. (Tape no. 22)

I was to learn from one former board member that his selection of the criteria "professional reports, evaluations, . . ." was prompted by TEA staff attending these committee meetings. He relied on them heavily for "technical" information and opinions. "[T]hey definitely had opinions," one board member quipped. ". . . You had to ask them questions. We used them as a resource for technical questioning" (Tape no. 21).

The State Board of Education did, of course, take the proclamations into consideration when making their textbook decisions. They had, after all, officially adopted those guidelines during their May 3, 1971 meeting. Seventy percent of the 1971 board respondents felt that proclamations were just as important as the textbooks themselves, despite comments suggesting that the formal adoption of proclamations was simply a routine matter (interview with respondent no. 271). In the words of one SBE member:

> We spent a lot of time on [the wording]. I think the wording is very important and of course, it was routine. But routine matters can be very important. (Tape no. 21)

Although the proclamations were generally seen as instructions to the publishers (Tape nos. 3, 21, 22, & 35), they were available for use as evaluative tools by the board just as they had been available to the previous decision groups.

In addition to the proclamations, personal and/or advisor reviews, and input from the Agency staff, the State Board members had small mountains of printed materials at hand to aid them in their textbook decisions. Hundreds of pages of Bills of Particulars, publishers' responses, and testimony before the Commissioner and the STC had been collected and bound and delivered to board members within two weeks of their November meeting (Tape no. 2). "Now I don't know how many of them *read* all that," one former Commissioner remarked. "If there was a loud protest, I'm sure they examined those particular protests" (Tape no. 1).

I failed to ask these interviewees whether or not they had read this printed matter. One of the petitioners that year was certain that board members *didn't* read it and, in his opinion, hadn't even looked at the books.

> When a board member comes to vote on a book, most of the time they've never even *seen* the books; they have not taken the time to read a stack two foot high of Bills of Particulars . . . (Tape no. 48)

I believe that SBE members made themselves aware of particular aspects of some books based upon the "protests" which had been received (I will discuss this in the section pertaining to Influence) and may have read selected parts of this printed matter which might have helped them to understand the arguements better. However, based upon the data which suggest a heavy reliance upon the previous decision groups, the importance of information provided by advisors and Agency personnel, and the realization that the SBE was a collection of unpaid, successful citizens who were otherwise involved in making a living, I believe that they did not, on the whole, see these printed materials as critical to their textbook decisions.

How did members of the State Board of Education evaluate books? First, they did not review or read all the books, nor did they pretend to do so. Independently or with the help of teachers, parents, and/or subject specialists, they attempted to assess how well content was organized and presented, how well books met the proclamations, and whether or not books could be seen as good teaching tools. They were able to make these seemingly pedagogical evaluations based primarily upon the input and previous decisions of State Textbook Committee members and TEA personnel.

Second, in cases where questions of "appropriate content" were concerned, they relied heavily on input from their professional staff (TEA personnel), their knowledge of the proclamations, and selective reading of some books to help them in their deliberations. This was a policymaking board which had little time or interest in "meddling" with the work of the educational professionals who were charged with educational matters. As one former member put it, "It's not the job of the school board to run the schools but to see that they are run. There's a lot of difference!" (Tape no. 22). With regard to textbook evaluations, it appears that this board placed that responsibility in the hands of those two groups with the necessary expertise to do such evaluations. In other words, if the books had been recommended by the Commissioner (who was satisfied that they had been properly evaluated), the board was typically satisfied with the preceding evaluations. This belief is reflected in the statement which follows:

> I considered my job on the board as primarily one of policymaking and not administration. I, nor any other board member I knew, was [not] qualified to pass [judgement] on the textbook as a teaching tool. We tried to set broad guidelines for the Textbook Committee members to work [with]in. The only time I made an effort to overrule the committee on a book, I lost at the board by a tie vote, broken by the chairman . . . As it turned out later, I was probably wrong. (Survey respondent no. 270)

Further evidence of this is apparent in the minutes of their November meeting (Texas Education Agency, 1972, January, Appendix B). Attempts were made by several board members to remove three English composition books. None succeeded. By a vote of 14 to 4 (three of those voting against had attempted to remove the books noted), all textbooks which had been recommended by the Commissioner were adopted. According to the recollections of one of the publishers involved that year (and who has been "representing textbooks in Texas as long as Mrs. Gabler's been protesting them"), "I would say that the state boards that I watched, on decisions [pertaining to textbooks and other matters] rendered by the Commissioner under J. W. Edgar's regime, probably differed with his opinion fewer times than all the other following [Commissioners] put together" (Tape no. 46). Complimentary remarks for former Commissioner Edgar were common throughout my study and add to my belief that the amount of personal evaluation this 1971 board undertook was minimal.

In the section which follows I present data related to the question of whether or not decision groups felt they were influenced by either petitioners or publishers. Petitioner influence will be reported first, followed by publisher influence.

Influence on Textbook Decisionmakers

Petitioner Influence

State Textbook Committee members. Committee members were asked what they felt was the major evaluation criterion used by the petitioners;

what, about the books, concerned petitioners most. Responses were spread evenly among three criteria: "organization and presentation of content," "pedagogical strength," and "other." These first two criteria match two of the textbook committee's own most important criteria, suggesting that members might have paid closer attention to petitioners who shared these same textbook concerns. The survey responses are probably misleading.

Two examples are offered in support of the argument that perhaps those selecting "pedagogical strength" or "organization and presentation of content" as petitioner foci may have had something considerably different in mind that would have fit more comfortably, perhaps, within the category labeled "other." The first example comes from a textbook committee member who had checked "organization and presentation of content." Asked to elaborate, he replied: "Content. You know -- what was in the books" (Tape no 15). The wording of the original phrase was such, I thought, that it would suggest to educators more an idea of *how* content was handled rather than *what* content was included. I believe that this gentleman, one of the committee's non-teaching, non-subject specialists, was referring, instead, to the sort of content concerns which prompted Mrs. Gabler to lodge the following protest against the American Book Company series:

> In support of our contention [that Christianity is downgraded], we read, from Level 1, page 5 to 7:
> "The Japanese people are very proud of their history, religion and arts."

> In contrast, there is no indication that Americans are proud of their history, religion or art. In spite of the fact that our nation was founded on Christian precepts, the only indication of any religions in our country are two pictures with churches as part of the landscape. (Texas Education Agency, 1971, September, p. 119)

This is an example of one petitioner's concern over "what's in the book" that might be interpreted as a concern for the "organization and presentation of content." It appears doubtless, however (given the actual protest that the book "downgraded Christianity") that it is actually a concern for religious bias.

During another interview, a member was asked to elaborate on her response that the petitioners focused on the books' "pedagogical strength (the best tool for the job)." She thought for a moment, then said that "When they testified, . . . I felt like they were interested in knowing [pause] what the students were going to learn from the textbooks" (Tape no. 16). This former member was equating "pedagogical strength" with "what the students were going to learn from the textbooks"; I had thought that the phrase would likely be interpreted as how the books and the accompanying teacher's edition might facilitate the teaching-learning process. I believe that this woman's interpretation of the petitioners' interest in "pedagogical strength" can be illustrated by another excerpt from Mrs. Gabler's testimony at the STC hearing that year. Here she is commenting on American Book Company's incorporation of the inquiry approach to teaching:

> Regarding the strong emphasis on group discussions of open-ended questions as admitted by the publisher's reply, the conclusions reached by the class or group must be based, either on the information furnished by the students themselves, or by the teacher, because the text does not provide any concrete answers to the student.
> Thus, every class using these books could come to a different conclusion about the matter discussed. Six years of this type of group decision-making would leave students with the concept that whatever a group decides is right. This would leave the students with no concept of absolutes; rather -- what is, right. Dependence on group decisions would most assuredly destroy individualism. (Texas Education Agency, 1971, September, p. 118)

On the surface, this may seem to be a pedagogical concern -- the goodness of the inquiry method, the value of whole- or small-group discussions, etc. But the petitioner takes a decidedly different tack. Her concerns are actually about the disintegration of absolutes and individualism, not about the pedagogical method *per se*. I believe that this was another case in which a respondent may have misinterpreted my particular phrasing of a criterion. In this instance, as in the previous one, I believe that "other" might have been a more correct response -- at least for these two respondents.

One-third of the respondents did select the "other" category when describing the petitioners' textbook evaluation criteria. Their descriptions of "other" included the petitioners' own philosophies and religious beliefs (Survey no. 155), personal biases (Survey no. 164), and conservative/liberal values (Survey no. 156).

Two points can be made here. First, the absence of any committee member responses identifying petitioners' concerns with "adherence to the proclamation" suggests that, in the minds of the committee, petitioners had based their textbook evaluations on a foundation other than that which the state had provided in the way of "black and white" guidelines. Second, educators serving on this committee, perhaps as a result of poor wording on my part or an overly-quick response on theirs, indicated that petitioners were evaluating and protesting textbooks from some of the very same "professional" perspectives held by themselves. I have included examples from testimony which might explain how this might appear possible, but I cannot say that these responses were all simply misplaced. Perhaps some STC members actually were convinced that petitioners were indeed looking at the books with similar criteria and concerns.

Textbook committee members were then asked, simply, to indicate the extent to which they were influenced by the petitioners. One respondent, a non-teaching, non-academic subject specialist, claimed to have been influenced in the choice of each book considerably. The remaining eight respondents split evenly between two replies: "influenced my choice of certain books somewhat," and "had no influence on any of my choices." As two STC members said:

> Member 1: It probably caused me to look at . . . I think that year they were social studies books [which] were up [for adoption] . . . Yes, it did

> influence me somewhat [pause] I mean it caused me to take another look at how I was voting, but I don't know that it changed my vote. I don't believe it did completely. (Tape no. 16)

> Member 2: [Responding to why petitioners had no influence on her] I think I was, perhaps, a little better qualified [to evaluate textbooks] than at least the [petitioners] that were there. (Tape no. 54)

It was during interviews with this set of committee members that I was confronted with yet another phenomenon I had not taken into careful enough consideration: negative influence. This was felt by a number of respondents across the three decision groups and, whenever possible, I included questions in my interviews which allowed the respondents an opportunity to identify it themselves.

> Respondent: Well, I listened [to the Gablers]. And the only thing they did to me got me angry. What their beliefs were, my beliefs weren't. So that [input of theirs] did not affect me; they didn't [persuade] me to vote their way. . . .
>
> Interviewer: So actually, from what you've just said, although they didn't influence you, if they had, it would have [been] a negative influence.
>
> Respondent: Exactly! Yes. But only, I'm just saying the Gablers, OK? Some of [the other petitioners] thought the way I did [laughs].
>
> (Tape no. 26)

Three of those (60%) who said that petitioners had had some degree of influence on their textbook selections claimed this resulted from their reading the petitioners' Bills of Particulars; the remaining two (40%) found the petitioners' oral testimony influential.

The question of petitioner influence on State Textbook Committee members was raised with others who had participated in the 1971 adoption cycle. Commissioner Edgar, though not able to respond to that particular adoption year, offered the following comment regarding petitioner influence. It is probably best seen as an impression based upon his 13 years of observing this process (petitioners began formally appearing before the STC in 1961; Edgar retired in 1974):

> When the committee member came to select the books, having studied them all with their advisors . . . their minds were pretty well made up. . . . I really don't think the protests had any material effect on the committee at all. They listened and considered [the protests] . . ., but they had the advice of their own advisory groups. I don't think the protestors influenced that committee a bit. (Tape no. 1)

Publishers representing the American Book Company's elementary social studies series remembered the protest (their series was protested by only one petitioner, Mrs. Mel Gabler) and offered these comments concerning influence on the State Textbook Committee:

> Publisher 1: The committee . . . listen[ed] to Mrs. Gabler, but the

> committee normally would not buy everything that she put forth. They would take what she said and then they would go on and vote and do their own thing. (Tape no. 46)

> Publisher 2: [B]asically, the kinds of comments Mrs. Gabler wrote about our book were so stupid that they merited little response. . . . I think the greatest effect that Mrs. Gabler had was not about the . . . social studies content in all the series, but I think she had the effect -- she and her cohorts -- . . . of emphasizing, in the minds of some committee members, that there needed to be some books there that were unlike other books. (Tape no. 41)

Actually, Mrs. Gabler's protests of the American series were the only protests it received (at least five other series received multiple protests) and were sparse in comparison to some of the others (Harcourt, for example, was heavily protested). Her "Bill" covered only the series' Level 1 book and focused on four points: (1) loss of a sense of absolute values and individualism; (2) downgrading of Christianity; (3) too few facts; and (4) negative American focus (Texas Education Agency, 1971, pp. 117-122).

These were not problems with the ABC series but with each of the new social studies series being offered that year. As was mentioned in Chapter Three, this was the first year that Texas had called for a complete, grades 1-6 elementary social studies series, and it was also the introduction of what was known as the "new social studies" into Texas schools. Among other things (see proclamation, Appendix P), this meant that the books were expected to "develop global perspectives," be "interdisciplinary in nature," and provide for the learning of "skills and processes of inquiry, of concept formation, and of valuing" (Texas Education Agency, 1971, March, p. 25). Mrs. Gabler's worries about the loss of "rugged individualism" was not limited to the American series but was, instead, "the over-riding picture of the social studies that we have received . . ." (Texas Education Agency, 1971, September, p. 121). Her dissatisfaction with all of the offerings that year was rather ominously proclaimed during her protests of one of the other series:

> In reviewing the new social studies textbooks now under consideration for adoption in the state of Texas, I was shocked and then angry, and now frightened that any of these "series" could be considered for Texas or any other state in the United States of America. (Texas Education Agency, 1971, September, p. 105)

It seemed fitting to ask the petitioners themselves (in this case, the Gablers) about the nature and extent of their influence on the textbook committee. Mr. Gabler responded to my question of whether or not they (he and his wife) felt that they succeeded in influencing that or any textbook committee.

> There's . . . absolutely no way of knowing because, for instance, we've been accused of picking the books the state takes. But that's an insult to the State Textbook Committee. . . . They would say, "You think I

> would change my vote to satisfy an old couple up in East Texas? No! I make my decision on my own with help from my advisors." Each committee member is *supposed* to take into consideration not only what they find themselves [and] what their advisors find, but also what we turn in plus the publisher's reply. (Tape no. 48)

Later in the interview, Mr. Gabler suggested that, because they did not write in "educationese," they were at a comparative disadvantage with the publishers *vis a vis* communicating with the textbook committee. He also agreed that, because he and his wife usually do not actually *know* members of the STC, their influential success rested pretty much on "faith."

Textbook committee members in 1971 were about evenly split, with some having felt influenced by petitioners and others not. A slight possibility is that some negative influence occured. Petitioners were believed to have evaluated the textbooks on the basis of their "pedagogical strength, "organization and presentation of content," and "other" bases. All but one of the STC members who felt that the petitioners' textbook evaluation criteria were something "other" (e.g., personal biases, philosophies) than these indicated that petitioners had no influence on their textbook decisions. Petitioners' Bills of Particulars and their testimony were both identified as conduits for influence, though one member remembers that she may have been contacted by letter or telephone by one of the petitioners. Neither the American Book Company publishers nor the Commissioner (speaking in a general sense) believed that the STC was considerably influenced by petitioner input, and the petitioners, themselves, were skeptical.

All of these indications lead me to conclude that in 1971, there may have been a 50% chance that committee members paid any serious attention to petitioners. Those who did may have been prompted to take a second look at their own textbook appraisals. However, it is highly questionable whether any actual decisions were changed between the time of the protests and the textbook balloting (24 hours). If petitioners were to have any discernable effect on these members, probably it would have stemmed, reasonably, from their Bills of Particulars which committee members may have received that year about three weeks prior to their coming to Austin for the hearing and balloting (Texas Education Agency, 1971, March, pp. 6-8). This assumption is based on the belief that the bulk of the STC's decisions were made by advisory groups and that only after sharing these "Bills" with those groups would a decision change seem proper.[3] In short, the data are convincing that both the "Bills" and the testimony of petitioners had minimal influence on the textbook decisions made by the State Textbook Committee members in 1971.

Texas Education Agency personnel. Data from this 1971 group of Agency personnel are sparse on the subject of petitioner influence during their textbook reviews and decisions. The key to understanding the nature and extent of petitioner influence is to remember that, during this phase, the Commissioner and his staff are carefully concerned with ways in which the proclamation can be interpreted *vis a vis* textbook content.

Dr. Edgar, then Commissioner of Education, was aware of the importance of petitioner input into the Texas textbook selection and adoption system. It was because of the growing interest in textbooks expressed during the late 1950s that he had had the system altered to include such input. I asked him about petitioner influence in general:

> I believe thay had more influence on me than they did on the [textbook] committee. . . . I don't believe, in all the years we had this process, that I consciously took a book off or had it changed [on] the basis of the protests. Sometimes we had the same changes made as the protester had asked to be made, and of course they took the credit. And many times the protesters would cover a book entirely and they'd find the same mistakes we did -- errors. (Tape no. 1)

From this account, we can see how Agency thoroughness in reviewing books might have appeared to be simply a matter of uncovering some of the same "errors" found by petitioners' equally thorough reviews.

Nevertheless, the staff had many books to read, and the Commissioner later noted that there was, perhaps, an identifiable sort of petitioner "influence" felt by Agency reviewers. "I might have read the books because the protesters said to look at a book more carefully," Edgar recalled. "When a book was protested, we did examine it much more carefully. [It's having been protested], I'm sure, had some effect on us" (Tape no. 1).

To be sure, this was precisely the desired effect sought by the Gablers, at least. Mel Gabler told why their "Bills" were of more importance for the TEA staff, perhaps, than the decisions of the textbook committee:

> But we also know that in addition to the [textbook] committee, if the board members read, or if the Commissioner reads, or if the [TEA] staff reads [our "Bills"] that, even if the [textbook] committee takes the book, the [TEA] staff has the prerogative of making changes. And . . . most of our reviews are asking for changes rather than [that] the book not be taken. So this is directed not only at the committee but also at the staff because they [had] that right to make all the changes they wanted. (Tape no. 48)

We can see, then, that Agency personnel were likely, at least, to be alerted to specific textbooks or portions of textbooks which had received heavy attention from protesters. On the other hand, it may be a mistake to conclude from this that the arguments of protesters frequently worked to influence particular calls for content changes. I am basing this caution on the differences between the ideological perspectives of that year's "protesters" and Agency personnel.

The Gablers are convinced that educators, as a group, do not aspire or adhere to the traditional American values that the majority of Americans hold (see note four, Chapter Two). The Texas Education Agency staff, made up of educators, is therefore bound to hold values different than those the Gablers. This presents problems when the Gablers' textbook protests go beyond the letter of the proclamation, as they typically do. Mr. Gabler explained to me how their textbook reviews are grounded in a combination of the proclamation guidelines and a set of categories they have designed (see also Piasecki, 1982, pp. 241-313):

> Well, basically what of course we all have to use is the proclamation that the state puts out because if they say it must have so-and-so in it, there's no use of objecting to so-and-so; if they say it cannot, then we do point it out. . . . Basically, you'll find that most of the things we objected to are actually listed as part of what is now the General Requirements. . . .
>
> Our own categories, . . .if you look on there I don't think there's a thing there that doesn't conform to traditional American values, and we feel that any time the book denigrates or does something like that to traditional American values that's more or less like an unspoken law; that's a violation of our heritage. So whether it's listed in the board's detailed listing [the proclamation] or not, we feel that it's still a violation of our cultural heritage. (Tape no. 48)

Last (1984, p. 154) quotes a longtime member of the Agency as stating that, with the exception of the National Organization for Women (NOW), "all the citizens submitting textbook complaints have been politically conservative." What I am suggesting here is that these "political" differences may have softened the influence the Gablers and other "conservative" petitioners had on members of the Agency who were somewhat less conservative. Edgar commented on this very thing, noting that petitioners were

> Largely . . . from the [political] right. But again, the textbook committee had their own advisors and knowledge, I had my own advisors, and usually the teacher advisors to the textbook committee and my advisors [staff] were not to the right. They were usually pretty well to the left of things. (Tape no. 1)

This line of reasoning suggests, among other things, that petitioners who were politically "in tune with" educators who controlled the first and second decision phases of the Texas textbook system had a better chance at succeeding in their attempts to influence those decisionmakers than did individuals or groups who held politically different beliefs. Mr. Gabler believes that this has been true with regard to identifiable changes resulting from petitioner input, the majority of which stem from "the NOW group":

> . . . I would say on the State Textbook Committee and the staff, they've found sympathetic people. Because in years past, the women's lib movement . . . had practically free access to the staff -- it was obvious they were buddy-buddy. And naturally, they're going to listen to people with whom they agree much more than people with whom they do not agree. (Tape no. 48)

These data indicate that there was probably petitioner influence on the TEA personnel in that books and parts of books which had received heavy protests were looked at more carefully. Nevertheless, it is not likely that petitioners were directly responsible for any of this groups' substantive decisions (no social studies series were removed from the recommended list of five). This conclusion is drawn from the Bills of Particulars and hearing transcripts which indicate that the focus of social studies protests included concerns about lack of facts, softness on communism, teaching evolution, teaching secular humanism, downgrading Christianity, and so forth. While these may be considered valid textbook critiques, they were the sort that were only loosely connected to the books' content *vis a vis* the Agency interpretations of the proclamation.

One additional avenue of likely influence which is impossible to measure in a first-time adoption such as this was the influence that previous protests might have had on the staff as they prepared new proclamation guidelines. One of the Agency staff involved with this social studies adoption shared tales of having to overcome much worry and reluctance felt by some educators, citizens, and a few publishers in developing curriculum frameworks for this "new social studies." The staff member recalled how reluctant some teachers (and publishers) were to move away from the sorts of geography and history "readers" that had been in use in the Texas elementary schools and toward an interdisciplinary, related series of books. What I am suggesting here is that perhaps the petitioners can be most influential with Agency personnel in affecting the wording of proceeding proclamations and/or the actual call on proceeding proclamations for certain "types" of books (e.g., reading series that are primarily phonetic in their approach). In a first-time adoption such as this there was no way to determine this.

After some five weeks of work reviewing textbooks and arranging for necessary changes, the Commissioner recommended books to the State Board for final adoption. This decision group, like its immediate predecessor, had the power to remove books and could also ask the Commissioner to request changes from the publishers, but could not add books to any list. Before voting to adopt, they, too, held a hearing for petitioners who wished to protest textbooks.

State Board of Education members. When asked in their survey to indicate the extent to which they were influenced by petitioner input (as a result of either their Bills of Particulars or their testimony), one respondent indicated that the petitioners influenced his selection of each book considerably and another indicated that petitioners influenced his choice of each book somewhat. Four respondents (31%) claimed that the petitioners had no influence in their textbook decisions. The majority of respondents (54%) did feel that the petitioner input influenced their decisions regarding certain books somewhat.

This seems to be another case where the "influence" felt by the majority of board members was primarily the ability of the petitioners to guide board members' attention toward certain books or parts of books. Three board members comment:

> SBE Member 1: The ones that I looked at particularly were those around which I thought there would be more question and controversy from the protesters. (Tape no. 22)

> SBE Member 2: And of course, really, we had so many things to do I did not read each book. If there was an objection or a criticism of textbooks, yes. Otherwise, no.
> Interviewer: The people you asked to look at [the books] really only looked at the ones that were under criticism . . .?
> SBE Member 2: I would think for the most part, yes. (Tape no. 15)

> SBE Member 3: I didn't examine all the books, no. . . . I did examine the parts, though, that were challenged. All of them. (Tape no. 32)

So it can be said with some assuredness that petitioners were at least successful in directing many board members toward some of the books. As one respondent put it, "[Petitioners] certainly made me look at them [textbooks], let's put it that way" (Survey #260). But during the interviews, I tried to get some sense of whether this influence went beyond simply prompting an awareness of questionable books or content:

> SBE Member 1: [T]he lady from over in East Texas [Mrs. Gabler] . . . I rather liked her. I was trying to find out whether the books were good, and if there was anything wrong with them, I wanted to know it too. . . .[this respondent had said that he was influenced "very little" by petitioners] Of course, I would consider everything. But after all, those people were not members of the State Board of Education. I had the responsibility. As Harry Truman said, "The buck stops here," you know. You had to make the decision. (Tape no. 32)

> SBE Member 2: It didn't take very many times of hearing them to get a line on what they were looking for in a book. . . . I was going to make up my own mind from my own judgement and my own background, and that's the way I'd vote. I don't mean that I would ignore any of the other [factors], but I couldn't say that I ever changed my mind because of anybody else's petitions or talking to them. (Tape no. 22)

One man, who could not think of the Gablers' name, recalled being "influenced by their statements -- sometimes favorably, sometimes unfavorably. But they did make an impression on me" (Tape no. 21). Several felt negatively influenced by petitioners. One remembered how sitting for hours and listening to "ridiculous arguments" used to negate any positive points the petitioners might have made. Another was considerably less subtle. "I was influenced. Yes! At that time [1971] we didn't have as many crazies as apparently they do now. . . . So, when a book was protested . . ., my presumption was that the book must be very good" (Tape no. 15).

It seems that petitioner influence, on the 1971 board at least, was of much the same sort as their influence on the TEA staff and Commissioner; that is, they served to "direct" members of this group toward certain "controversial" books and/or passages of books. However, insufficient data exist to say that petitioners had any actual effect on textbook ballots cast. This view is shared by former Commissioner Edgar who, when asked how much influence petitioners had on the State Board remarked "None, except maybe on two or three occasions when I sent some book in there that was [questionable] and they would have taken it off anyway, perhaps. They were alerted to books because of the protests, [but seldom removed them]" (Tape no. 1).

There is a case to be made, nonetheless, for the likelihood that some petitioners had a better chance to influence this decision group than the previous two. If Mr. Gabler is correct in his belief that educators do not share the "traditional American values" of the majority of Americans, then this group of non-educators would be the likely place where he and his wife (and others representing those values) might have had their strongest hopes of being influential. Despite Mr. Gabler's belief that most board members didn't take the time to look at the books or read the Bills of Particulars (Tape no. 48), he does feel that he and his wife have succeeded in establishing credibility:

> In the early days, the board members or nobody else seemed to pay any attention to us, and it was kind of frustrating. . . . But through persistency . . ., I think [we] finally established credibility. . . . Even if they don't like you they at least have to acknowledge that you are not just waiving a fan in the air or something. (Tape no. 48)

In addition to the possibility of their own chance at making a difference at this final decision phase, petitioners had a better opportunity to cultivate support with board members who were less likely to be impressed by "educationese" and who are, statistically at least (according to Mr. Gabler's statistics), more likely to share the same particular value perspectives as petitioners. Perhaps all they might have needed was one member of the body to speak in support of their contentions. "[I]f they don't have some inkling of what you're complaining about, when they get down to the board meeting, *unless some one member takes the lead or something*, most of them will just sit there" (Tape no. 48, emphasis added).

It was possible, then, that petitioners -- through the influence they had on several board members -- had some actual decisionmaking influence on the 1971 board. Attempts were made to remove several English Composition books during the board's voting, but each of them failed handily. Despite all five of the elementary social studies series being protested at the board's November 8 meeting, the petitioners had no success in having any removed from the list, nor were there board members who spoke against their adoptions.

Forty-two publishing companies participated in the 1971 Texas textbook selection and adoption system, sixteen of them bidding series for elementary social studies. Their job was to convince textbook committee members to select their books at the first decision phase and to see that the books remained on the list through the TEA review and the state board's adoption vote. The hardest part was surviving the initial phase; "Once you make the list," one of the people from ABC reckoned, "you seldom worry about having [your books] removed" (Tape no. 47). In this part of the influence section, I will present data pertaining to publishers' influence on decision groups.

Publisher Influence

State Textbook Committee members. Members of this body were inundated with literature, telephone calls and information from dozens of publishers, all presenting the best they had to offer. I asked committee members to choose the one criterion which they felt was the major selling point of publishers when presenting their books to the committee. One member (of nine respondents) chose "effectiveness" which I had parenthetically described as "learner verification." Two respondents (22%) answered that publishers stressed the "pedagogical strength" of their books, emphasizing, in the words of one member, "the teachability of the books and the various ancillary equipment that was available" (Tape no. 54). One of American's publishers that year provided an example of another company's marketing strategy which played on this notion of teachability. He described the strength of one of his competitors as resting largely in the "eye appeal" of their "TEs" [teacher editions]: "What they're trying to do, of course, is to put things in there that teachers will recognize immediately that they want to see" (Tape no. 46).

The remaining six respondents were divided evenly between "adherence to the proclamation" and "organization and presentation of content." The former, we learn, was a *must* for all publishers:

> Everything was geared to the proclamations, especially publishers who did not have a good book. They were the ones that spoke the

> loudest and focused on the little things. . . . And some were fair; [they would] say, "Hey, I have a book here and it doesn't meet the proclamation as well as others, but look at it.". . . Maybe that was a strategy on their part, but still, I looked at them. (Tape no. 26)

Once they had assured STC members of their proclamation "fit," publishers could get down to the serious business of showing off their books. According to the publishers from American Book Company who participated in this adoption (as well as at least six others who were part of the preliminary stage of this study), their real sales focus evolved around how their books' organization and presentation of content differed from -- and was better than -- that of their competitors. Excerpts follow which describe how the ABC publishers emphasized their 1971 series:

> The one thing you better do [in order to have a chance at making the list]: you better know your product [and] you better know your competitor's product. You better evaluate how you beat your competitor and then whenever you start to emphasize something say, "Well, I wish you would look at page so-and-so because this is the way we present The Articles of Confederation . . . We've got three more pages of coverage of Teddy Roosevelt running up San Juan Hill than the competitors do." Those kinds of things. You pick out whatever you think is going to be a definitive plus and you *use* that!" (Tape no. 47)

Our sales strategy was that . . . we had what we called a unified social studies [and] we presented it as a multidisciplinary approach. (Tape no. 46)

We pushed that our books were not far-out in the new social studies. . . . They stressed concepts and generalizations in *all* the social sciences. But they were not *overly* inquiry; that we had discursive, didactic stuff in there and thus we played directly to the strength of teachers who understood social studies books as another supplementary reader. But we also pointed out that the books took another step -- not *ten* steps, but another step. (Tape no. 40)

[One of our competitors' series was] a cosmetic revision, but it was . . . *so thick* ! The books were just big, heavy suckers [and we knew] that people were going to buy them. (Tape no. 41)

We stressed that fact that we had a brand new series [unlike some of the competitors]. We stressed the fact that we had inquiry . . . It was not total inquiry [we did not go overboard as did one of the competitors]. . . . We had lots of activities in our workbook [but ours were in black and white and some of the others had color in their workbooks]. (Tape no. 47)

Our series had a striking different organization to the convention of the late sixties in elementary social studies, and yet we had some

> very familiar things. For example, we had Indians in grade three. (Tape no. 40)

These clips enable us to see how the American book people stressed their series' adherence to the proclamation (key words here are "concepts," "inquiry," and "multidisciplinary") as well as its organization and presentation of content (a proper blend of inquiry and didactic material, its fresh approach compared with "old" programs). It is probably safe to say that all publishers connected with bidding social studies series that year placed much emphasis on the criteria identified as most important by the textbook committee members.

And to what end were these publishers successful in influencing the committee members' selection of textbooks? According to the survey responses, 66% of the respondents were influenced to some extent by the publishers' activities. Four of these six reported being influenced by publishers' "Round Robin" presentations -- when representatives, consultants, and textbook authors meet with a committee member and her/his advisors to formally present the series. (Note: The system requires that all committee members provide each publisher offering a book in each subject area at least one of these presentations.) The remaining two respondents answered that they were influenced more as a result of their personal contacts with publishers. These might have been small group or informal discussions between a representative and the committee member and/or one or two advisors, or they might have been during the times when publishers were "socializing" with committee members and advisors, typically over meals.

"Influence" should not be interpreted as something extra-legal. These STC members and their advisors worked long and hard all summer for " a whole lot of honor and a few hot meals" according to one of the Agency personnel active that year (Tape no. 11), who added that they "couldn't be bought for all the money in China" because they were "dedicated to their principles." I think we can safely interpret publisher influence to mean two things: information that publishers provided to committee members and lasting impressions that publishers made on committee members. Each is discussed below.

As publishers supplied STC members with information about their books, they were also providing information (albeit negative) about their strongest competitors' books. As was indicated in the section on textbook committee evaluation, a committee member's first task was to get these sixteen elementary social studies series down to a manageable number in order to focus their efforts on the strongest. The publishers from American Book Company were able to look through the list of offerings for that year and easily identify books which were simply not "in the game" (Tape nos. 40, 41, 46, & 47). In their minds at the outset of the campaign, and in the minds of the textbook committee members eventually (based on the record of the first ballot), there were only eight series seen as serious contenders for the five slots on the state list.

This meant that the textbook reviews and the publishers' efforts would have to focus on specific differences among these series, "little things" like how many pictures of Hispanics each had or whether or not the covers were equally appealing. As the publishers from ABC pointed-out, these specifics became an important part of each of the publishers' presentations. This information became integral to a committee member's evaluation, as the following comment illustrates:

> There were things that I might have missed if they [publishers] had not pointed them out. And this is generally true of all of them. I mean, I looked over the books, but perhaps not as carefully as I would have if no one had [pause] You know, whenever they explained it [pause] It did help to have them there. Of course they *all* had representatives. (Tape no. 54)

Another interviewee who had reported realizing *no* influence by the publishers ended his discussion of that experience by admitting that he had probably been influenced by *all* of them one way or another (Tape no. 26). Providing well-prepared and highly selective information to the committee and their advisors was apparently the influence publishers contributed to the members' comparative textbook evaluations and eventual decisions.

The second way in which publishers obviously influenced textbook committee members' feelings about these social studies series was by creating a favorable impression of the company, the product, and the people representing both on committee members and/or advisors. In some cases, creating this impression is actually a budget concern of a company's marketing strategy; that is, the publisher prepares (in our case) the states' social studies people for a new series long before it is bid for adoption (Tape nos. 6 & 9).

These impressions were also created through the actual textbook committee campaign itself. One of the American Book Company's publishers that year recalled that "It was obvious early on . . . that we were competing not only with [other] books, but with showmanship. . . . That was probably a weakness in our case" (Tape no. 41). The importance of a lasting (positive) impression became stunningly clear to me as I interviewed members of that 1971 textbook committee. Each of the three interviewees recalled being impressed by Paul Brandwein, the senior author of the Harcourt series. It is questionable whether they remember the books, but they certainly remember the author. "He stressed humanities" recalled one member (Tape no. 16). Another spoke of how this "famous man" came all the way to his home town in Texas. He was impressed, adding "[Y]ou *know* he didn't write those books" (Tape no. 26). One of his major competitors had this to say about "author" Brandwein:

> Paul Brandwein, I am convinced, didn't write a word [of the 1971 Harcourt series]. But Paul Brandwein was an impressive, effective symbol and salesman for that company. . . . He was a major figure in the field [of social studies] . . . He played the piano when he went out [and] people would gather around him and sing. He's a *lot* of fun. He spoke well, he's suave and yet he was [a] rumpled professor. . . . He was terrific! He was dynamite! (Tape no. 40)

I believe that textbook committee members who recognized the influence of publishers (66% of respondents) were referring to either their receiving information from publishers which aided in their eventual comparisons between largely similar books or their being impressed with the book, the ways it was presented to them, and/or the publishers themselves. "I don't think there's any question that teachers are influenced by sales representatives" one publishing executive touted. ". . . And a part of the reason is that teachers don't have the time, and sometimes they don't have the ability, to make a careful evaluation. Also, there are an awful lot of textbooks that look a lot alike" (Tape no. 14). When the campaign had ended, the most influential publishers of the most influential series succeeded in making it through the balloting process with their product safely on the social studies list.

Texas Education Agency personnel. Records of the changes called for during this adoption year are no longer available. The curriculum staffer who reviewed the social studies series did not recall finding any problems with any of the series selected by the textbook committee. My concern, however, was to try and determine if there had been publisher influence on textbook decisions made by Agency personnel.

Once listed, there was rarely fear of a book or series being removed. If content were judged questionable by the TEA personnel, publishers would be asked to attend a "show cause" hearing to argue their case before the Commissioner and his curriculum experts. In the end, the publisher usually changed the content rather than lose the opportunity to sell the books throughout Texas. One publisher even expressed this willingness to agree to any changes during the 1971 STC hearings -- before the balloting took place (Texas Education Agency, 1971, September, p. 78). Survey, interview, and document data from this case study provide practically no information to suggest that publishers attempted (or could hope) to influence the Agency's decisions regarding changes in any of the listed books.

However, we can get an idea of how the concept of influence might come into play at this decision phase by looking at the relationships between publishers and those at the Texas Education Agency. Commissioner Edgar and the 1971 staff had frequent contacts with publishers, both social and professional. Edgar understood this to be "all a matter of business" (Tape no. 2), and was easily able to call some publishers his friends on the one hand, and know that those friendships would have no bearing on his textbook decisions on the other. After all, as he explained, those at the Agency were public servants who had the same professional interests as textbook publishers -- seeing that Texas schools had the best books available. He knew he could maintain the proper focus on these relationships although he may have had doubts, on occasion, about his staff:

> [T]hey were public people. . . . They had various contacts with publishers. We discouraged any socialization, although there was some. . . . You just had to depend on the fact that these people are supposed to be professional folks . . . (Tape no. 1)

In fact, maintaining a successful working relationship with Agency personnel is a necessary part of the "textbook game" according to publishers I spoke with during preliminary interviews. Speaking about the importance of publishers staying "tuned-in" to the forthcoming proclamation specifications which eminate from the Agency staff, one veteran said:

> Respondent: If publishers didn't have someone who was in that Agency on a bi-monthly or a bi-weekly basis trying to determine their thinking of what those people expected in books, you couldn't play the game. You couldn't bid because your book wouldn't meet the [proclamation].
>
> Interviewer: So one of the things that that did, then, was complicate the jobs of people like you. It gave you another territory that you had to pay attention to.
>
> Respondent: That's right! And that was, in the long run, a very important territory. . . . I became acquaintances, friends, and sometimes offered advice as to what was going into those books. And this advice might have been influenced by what we had in our books. (Tape no. 8)

Another veteran publisher, now retired and not a 1971 ABC participant, also spoke of this TEA-publisher collaboration on the specific wording of the proclamations: "Well, it was natural. It was a conscious process. All of us would work at that; that's just American business" (Tape no. 4).

Publishers had to establish respectable working relationships with those at the TEA in order to at least monitor curriculum changes that would be reflected in future proclamations. This responsibility, as the following publisher notes, was most important:

> [P]erhaps most important, at least from my perspective as a sales representative, is to anticipate major changes in curriculum -- what's going to happen. And a lot of that . . .[is controlled by] A cadre of very vocal curriculum people . . . who, in fact, influence the new proclamation. (Tape no. 14)

The importance of their professional working relationship with TEA personnel seems likely to be the essence of their potential to influence. No data I have collected indicate that this relationship played any part in the 1971 textbook reviews conducted by staff; however, the need to have influenced those evaluations may not have even existed, because many of the major publishers who bid books for that elementary social studies adoption had taken an active role in the creation of both the proclamations and the curriculum frameworks upon which they were based.

As I said earlier, 1971 was the first year such a series was adopted in Texas. The work which preceded the call for an integrated, sequential series of social studies books had been going on for half a dozen years, and, according to those at the Agency, some of the toughest people to convince of its conceptual soundness and eventual success were the publishers themselves:

> Interviewer: You had to sell this idea to the publishers?
>
> Respondent: Yes we really did. And of course with them, they had to do an awful lot of visiting; they had to have a lot of assurances from people in the field that Texas was ready for change and . . . would be willing [to purchase and use these new books] (Tape no. 35).

This TEA social studies expert went on to describe how publishers played an important role in the writing of the curriculum frameworks, precursors of the eventual proclamations. "Nothing came as a surprise" to the publishers who had participated in this difficult endeavor; carefully worded proclamations served as their "first step in the development of books" (Tape no. 35).

In short, while there is no evidence that publishers were at all influential in the decisions made by TEA personnel during the second decision phase of the 1971 elementary social studies adoption, it is probable that this was so because, through their professional working relationships, some of these publishers had actually taken part in the devising of the proclamations which outlined the books' design and content requirements. Having produced books to carefully fit the proclamation, and knowing the staff and Commissioner well enough to have a good idea of how they might be likely to interpret the proclamations *vis a vis* their books' content, publishers had little need to exert any sort of influence at this phase under normal circumstances; their reputations (as "clean" participants), their willingness to accommodate the TEA personnel, and their relationships with Agency members would all appear to act as a tacit, on-going, collegial influence throughout the entire procedure. If it was their sense of collegiality and mutual respect with Agency personnel which allowed publishers to feel little anguish about having their books removed by the Commissioner, they appear to have had little reason to feel that comfortable with the State Board members who controlled the final decision phase.

State Board of Education members. Board members were asked the extent to which their textbook decisions were typically influenced by members of the publishing industry. Only two respondents (15%) believed that publisher input had any effect on their decisions; one believed that publishers somewhat influenced his selection of each book and the other felt some influence was present in his choice of certain books. In the case of some books, according to one of these gentlemen, publishers "often cleared-up matters or reaffirmed or gave support to my presumptions" (Tape no. 15). The rebuttals publishers had filed to particular protests and their presence at the board hearing provided board members with "a pretty full discussion" of the issues at hand (Survey no. 260).

All of the above notwithstanding, nearly 85% of the responding 1971 board members answered that publishers had no influence on any of their textbook decisions. This was not due to any ill will between the two groups. In fact, there was an advisory group of publishers with whom board members often consulted on textbook matters (Tape no. 46). Remembering this, one former member said:

> We were on a friendly basis. I know . . . the textbook people had an

> advisory group and I met with them and got their suggestions on improving procedures to speed up those hearings. (Tape no. 32)

On the other hand, another member made it a point to inform me that there were no "questionable" aspects to this friendly appearance. "[None of them] made faces at me or were rude or anything like that" he claimed, "but there was [pause] nothing out of the way at all [regarding the purpose of their friendship]" (Tape no. 22).

This awareness of the public's view of their relationships with publishers may have been due to the rather checkered history of State Board members involvement in Texas textbook adoptions. Back in the days when the system operated differently, elementary books (and for a time, secondary books) were single adoptions; that is, all of the Texas schools would use publisher X's speller or publisher Y's readers. One of the concerns expressed by Patrick (1949) in her study of the Texas textbook system was the apparent graft present, then, between publishers and powerful state school board members who, according to two interviewees active in that system, "controlled" some of the people charged with the selection of books (Tape nos. 3 & 4). A number of those servng on the 1971 board had been there since the new system had gone into effect in 1949 and no doubt remembered some of their predecessors' reputations in textbook matters. Whatever the reason, this board felt no detectable kinship with publishers. "The board didn't have anything to do with the publishers," Dr, Edgar informed me, adding "which was a change from the old way . . ." (Tape no. 1).

Another factor that was likely to cause board members to respond as they did was the fact that their decisons came at the tail end of a petitioning procedure that had been in progress since mid-summer (there was an August 20 deadline for all Bills of Particular to be into the commissioner's office). By 1971, veteran participants knew pretty much what to expect in the way of information and activities; for the SBE members, this meant that most of the books would have been protested and publishers would respond with carefully worded, point-by-point refutations. "The board would question some publishers" one of the American Book publishers explained, ". . .because they had heard Mrs. Gabler ask questions about [the quality of the books]. But this [1971] board would never take after a publisher personally" (Tape no. 46).

Written protest-rebuttal-oral protest-rebuttal became standard operating procedure which, as one member groused, "we had to listen to" (Interview with survey respondent no. 271). I asked the following member if this exchange of views didn't make *some* difference:

> Not really. They did defend . . . the books within the parameters of the system. . . Generally speaking, it was so cut and dried that I didn't have any definite opinion one way or the other after I got through hearing them. (Tape no. 21)

Actually, the record shows that more often than not, publishers did very little defending of their books before the State Board -- another factor that became part of the routineness and may have prompted the dominant belief among board members that publishers had no influence. During our discussion of publishers' activities before the board, one board member said that those people "did the poorest job of trying to defend themselves that I've ever seen. Most of the time . . . they would get up and say, 'We stand on our written responses.' That's about all they ever did!" (Tape no. 22).

A final offering to help explain this lack of influence on the board has to do with how publishers were perceived by this body's membership. I have tried to show that there was little sense among the members of this board that they were attempting to do any more than see that those charged with running the schools (and securing the best possible textbooks) were successful. I don't think, therefore, that the members of the SBE saw themselves as making decisions on the comparative professional quality of these books. While they were no doubt interested in what was in the books, they had paid considerable attention to the wording of the proclamations and felt, I believe, that the books which reached them had been screened thoroughly enough to insure that they satisfactorily met the guidelines in virtually all cases. In other words, the board's role, in voting to adopt textbooks, was to purchase tools which their eventual users had already screened and selected, as seen below:

> What you're doing is providing tools for the teacher to use in their classrooms, and the better tools we can get for that teacher, the better job she has a chance of doing. (Tape no. 22)

To the extent that this was a mutual perception, the role of the publisher would be perceived as little more than the seller of these tools:

> SBE Member 1: Frankly, hell, they were salesmen. (Tape no. 15)

> SBE Member 2: They were trying to sell books! I didn't think they were too interested in the quality of the book [either]. (Tape no. 22)

> SBE Member 3: I did not think [their appearance before the board] was all that important . . . I think that it would be strong to say it was wasting our time -- not that; but on a scale of one to ten, I think that they would rate [pause] in the lower quadrant for . . . the effectiveness [of their appearances]. (Tape no. 21)

Publishers apparently had practically no influence on the board members who contributed data to this case study. There seems to have been no animosity between the two groups, just a well understood separateness. The board obligingly sat through their textbook hearing and asked an occasional question of publishers, but expected to hear little in the way of publisher testimony otherwise. This may have been due in part to the fact that concerns over textbook content, by this stage, had become clearly value-laden, and contemporary publishers of textbooks have worked hard to steer clear of such debates. They may also have opted out of the verbal fray for fear of doing themselves any harm by "putting their feet in their mouths." Whatever the reason, publishers whose materials had reached this point were on the edge of success in many ways and my data suggests that they had no influence to speak of on the textbook decisions made by the State Board of Education.

In addition to the major focus questions pertaining to textbook evaluation and publisher and petitioner influence, three related areas of interest emerged as important in this study of the Texas textbook system. They involve the composition of the State Textbook Committee and its members' advisors, the style of representation exhibited by decisionmakers in the two large groups (STC and SBE), and the general impressions of participants who have acted in the system. These questions will be presented in the following section.

Serving as State Textbook Committee Members and Advisors

What criteria were important in the selection of these participants? Who was responsible for identifying them? How carefully were they matched to the subject areas receiving new textbooks? How were they perceived by the publishers? In order to answer some of these questions, all key participants were asked to talk about and/or provide survey responses to questions about the State Textbook Committee members and their advisors. The reporting of these data will begin with the people who were most responsible for identifying and recommending the STC appointees -- TEA personnel.

The 1971 textbook committee was made up of nine full-time classroom teachers, one part-time teacher/coordinator, and five non-teaching educators (two superintendents, two coordinators, and one consultant). The Commissioner chose the two superintendents himself, explaining that they had to be

> good strong school administrators to form the nucleus of the committee, people [who] were used to dealing with a competitive process. Maybe two or three administrators we felt would be firm and fair and knew their business. (Tape no. 3)

Others on the committee were typically recommended for the post by the Agency staff, who provided the Commissioner with lists of eligible (*vis a vis* subject areas) prospects from throughout the state's congressional districts. "That's one of the reasons we travelled so much at that time," I was told by one Agency member, ". . . to get to know people" (Tape no. 35).

What sort of educator was the staff looking for as a potential member of the State Textbook Committee? Members of the Texas Education Agency provided these descriptions:

> TEA Staff Member: We looked for people who were looking forward and were willing to be critical of what we had done in the past; and yet people that weren't leaping off the deep end. . . . We gave them plenty of opportunity to talk . . . We had to meet with people who knew that change was necessary but not to do anything that was fantastic and that was too idealistic to be achieved. (Tape no. 35)

> Commissioner Edgar: We investigated them and checked them out

> pretty carefully, their knowledge of subject matter, their ability to withstand the pressure of their work in the spotlight that they had to work in in this process. We would talk with people who knew them. . . . They were strong enough characters to be objective . . . and their reputations, personally, were good. (Tape no. 1)

When asked why they felt they had been selected to serve on the STC, *all* of the nine respondents felt they were selected "because of my experience and performance as an educator as well as my professional activities." State Board members, asked to identify the major criteria used to select members of the STC, used descriptors such as "character," "reputation," "integrity," and "conservative," and each respondent (13) included some mention of their professional reputation (experience and expertise in their fields). A representative response from this group would be "Experience; common sense; an understanding of basic moral values; academic record" (Survey no. 265, item no. 12).

These data support my previous discussion concerning appointments to the textbook committee; that is, that members were "screened" not only on their academic credentials but on their personal credentials as well, although this may not have been obvious to members themselves. Two of the three non-administrators interviewed mentioned having had recent contact with their respective curriculum expert at the Agency (Tape nos. 16 & 26) and the other believed her nomination was a direct result of her immediate supervisor who was close friends with the Agency staffer in that area. It appears that frequent contact or recent contact prior to the time one's subject area is due to receive new books was a factor, at least, in being recommended for committee work.

Checking on members' personal characteristics (character, personal reputation, etc.), according to my interview data for this year, was accomplished through discussions between Agency personnel and nominees' superintendents. Although no one ever said that a superintendent could actually say "No" to the Commissioner, he (an appropriate use of the masculine pronoun when referring to superintendents) was the person who would help the Agency investigator determine whether or not a potential STC member was "off the deep end" or "extremely social."

There is also some evidence here to suggest that the process of identifying potential STC members did not always work from recommendations within the Agency. The Commissioner during 1971 described how membership suggestions from the field tended to worry him:

> I got a lot of suggestions from friends among the school people [but] I always felt they were planted by publishers. . . . You just had to be on your guard all the time because the publishers were always working night and day to get the inside track with the committee. (Tape no. 3)

Nevertheless, as I pointed out earlier, there were times when some slots could not be filled from within the Agency and the Commissioner would contact superintendents and ask for nominees. While the Commissioner described this an infrequent occurrence, a veteran publisher disagreed.

Looking through the list of 1971 textbook committee members (most of whom he remembered and still knows personally!), he offered a somewhat different version of how members were selected:

> And I know this from experience. These people are [pause] let's say Viola Harrison. J. W. Edgar, very few people, probably *no one* in the TEA knew Viola Harrison until her name was recommended for appointment. *Probably*, J. W. Edgar got on the phone, or one of his deputy commissioners got on the phone, and called W. T. White, superintendent of schools [in Dallas], and said "W. T., I'm going to give you a committee member this year. We need an elementary teacher in either grades 4, 5, or 6 with a strong background in [pause] something." He [White] would go down to his Assistant Superintendent for Instruction and he'd say, "Bring me five names and give me the bio's on those five; I've got to . . . pick a committee member for the Commissioner." And W. T. White would pick . . . that particular member. . . . That's the way a lot of them were chosen. That's the way a lot of them are chosen *today* ! (Tape no. 46)

I offer the above impression not only to add strength and clarity to the picture of the importance of the administrative network in identifying and "clearing" members of the State Textbook Committee, but to suggest that there was a third possible criterion which may have been active in these appointments. This was the criterion of recognition.

The notion of recognition or perhaps reward is a possible explanation for helping to understand how such a small number of professionals could be singled-out year after year from literally thousands within their ranks who may be eligible to serve on the State Textbook Committee. Regardless of whether members are identified by Agency staff, the Commissioner, or a district superintendent, there appears to be some evidence to suggest that appointment to the State Textbook Committee is viewed, by all concerned, as a high water mark of professional recognition (Tape no. 12).

We can see this, initially, in the background information available on the 1971 board members. Years of experience ranged from ten (a superintendent) to 39 (a mathematics teacher), with 17 being the average. Reading the short biographies of STC members (see Texas Education Agency, 1971, May) one learns that most were quite active in state and national professional organizations. "Outstanding professionals" was how former Commissioner Edgar described them.

It may well be that this aura of recognition or reward was one way that the state could manage to perennially secure educational leaders. Working on the textbook committee was a long, arduous, unpaid job that carried with it enormous responsibilities. On the other hand, it was work entrusted to a hand-picked collection of some of the state's "best and brightest" educators in the subject areas being bid. Perhaps the sense of honor members felt was payment enough? Each of the interviewees from that year spoke of the work as an honor or a privilege, and even publishers saw them as a group representing the "greatness in their ranks" (Tape no. 4).

There were other rewards as well. During my preliminary interviews, I learned from two publishers that, because of the importance of the Texas market in elhi development and sales, they were always on the look-out for Texas educators to employ in any number of capacities -- advisors, consultants, contributing authors, etc. (Tape no. 9 & 14). The following information, provided by a publisher who was not involved with the case at hand, supports this notion:

> It's very valuable to have people who understand the Texas system, who have a [pause] large number of acquaintances in teaching in Texas, who are good at articulating what the needs of Texas are. . . . It's crucial. . . . The use of well-informed sales representatives and consultants in the development of new programs and the revision of other programs is crucial. There's no question about it. (Tape no. 14)

Obviously, one such pool of these people would be former members of the STC. Working closely together throughout the entire summer, publishers get to know these educators very well, and the likelihood of discovering talented and articulate members is high. These are skilled, veteran educators, leaders in their fields with established state-wide professional networks. Since members can serve only one year, there would be nothing to prevent them from working for a publisher who wished to tap into this valuable storehouse of Texas educational knowledge. One former committee member described this very scenario to me. It was an unsolicited description of how, after having met so many publishers and done such thorough textbook reviews, he was contacted by one company afterward to discuss their series with him. This discussion led to some consulting work and eventually to some actual writing responsibilities. My point here is that there were social and professional rewards available outside of one's own teaching or administrative responsibilities resulting from work on the State Textbook Committee which, for some at least, made the experience even more worthwhile.

In reviewing this section, we can see that suggestions for the teaching and subject specialist STC members typically originated from the Agency staff, although at times, district superintendents were asked to nominate members. These nominees, in addition to meeting the legal requirements found within the Education Codes, had to conform to at least three general criteria which included years of experience as an educator, subject matter expertise, and strong, proper (i.e., not radical) character. They were screened through their superintendents, who had to actually give them permission to serve. The Commissioner of Education selected the committee's administrators who were men with strong leadership abilities.

The overall sense shared by committee members, publishers, petitioners, Agency personnel, and State Board members is that State Textbook Committee members were the pedagogical cream of the crop: dedicated, committed professionals who gave of their time and effort for the good of the state's schools and children and who were beyond being "bought" by publishers. The record shows that all members were active in state and national professional organizations, and there is reason to believe that their recognition as potential members was in part related to some relatively recent professional activity or contact they had had with the person responsible for recommending them.

It is important to recall, however, that there were strict criteria to be met in the construction of such a committee. These included: (1) having members from only fifteen of the (then) 21 congressional districts (there was a "rotation" formula which determined which districts had members each year); (2) having at least eight practicing classroom teachers; (3) matching members with appropriate subject areas; and (4) seeing that committees were racially and sexually balanced (Tape no. 11). It was not an easy task for those at the Agency, yet it laid the foundation of legitimacy for the committee's textbook decisions. The state received the services of some of the best educators in its employ, and members were given "a very definite professional reward for excellence in their field" (Tape no. 11).

Textbooks were offered for adoption in 21 subject areas during the 1971 adoption (see Appendix O), a fact which is offered to highlight the importance of the advisors used by textbook committee members. A total of 882 advisors (an average of 59 per committee member), both lay and professional, helped in the initial textbook selection. In addition to the two textbook committee members with social studies expertise, 49 of the 882 advisors were social studies experts.

State Textbook Committee members were asked to describe the major criteria used in selecting these advisors. All of them made some mention of subject area expertise, teaching experience, or both. A representative response illustrating these criteria would certainly be "Knowledge of subject area and effective professional educators" (Survey no. 161, item no. 13). Atypical criteria included proximity ("people from my school") and proxy ("chosen by subject consultants"). When asked what they felt were the textbook committee members' criteria used in their selection of advisors, State Board members' responses included use of the adjectives"experience," "experts [subject area]," and "geographical criteria." Two members had no idea how these selections might have been made, and two others offered their beliefs that advisor selection had something to do with personal relationships (using the terms "friends" and "like-minded"). I assumed that board members would have had some generally positive sense about how these hundreds of women and men were selected because of the trust placed on the decisions arrived at by the STC members -- decisions resulting in large part from the recommendations of advisors. This assumption seems to be born out by the responses described above.

My most interesting realization resulting from this avenue of inquiry was that STC members (perhaps many) did not actually select their own advisors. This responsibility was entrusted to people described by Unruh (1983) as "curriculum leaders" -- curriculum directors, supervisors, and coordinators -- working in a committee member's school (if it was large enough to employ such persons) or at the district's administrative office. A member from one of the state's larger schools explained that she "worked with our director of curriculum and he . . . contacted . . . the [curriculum] consultants in each of those [21 subject] areas. . . . [H]e asked them to select a committee to work with me" (Tape no. 16).

Working at the district office at the time, another member recalled going "to the various departments [corresponding to that year's subject areas]. I simply asked the directors whom they would recommend. . . . They would give me a list of people [in each subject area]" (Tape no. 54). Another member explained how he asked district curriculum supervisors to provide him with the names of advisors, though because of his own, similar position, he had the luxury of time to actually meet and observe those recommended to him. "I asked all the coordinators, like, say, in the foreign language [area], 'Hey, who's the best teacher in French?' Then I'd go and observe and visit. I had all that time . . ." (Tape no. 26).

Half of my respondents mentioned this way of acquiring advisors. This raises the question of whether or not it was the method favored by most members, a question which is impossible to answer from the questionnaire data. Conversations with STC members and publishers lead me to believe that in most cases, these committee members did not typically hand-pick all or even most of their advisors. In cases where personal knowledge of these helpers was important, a member may have personally selected a chairperson in each area, but then asked that chairperson to complete her/his own committee membership.

In short, the data indicate that advisors to State Textbook Committee members are chosen largely for their subject area expertise as well as their professional experience -- criteria seen as important by all key participant groups. Although the job is certainly less prestigious than a position on the committee itself, one Agency member assured me that "Being an advisor is the next best thing . . . I've heard many, many teachers brag about the fact that they'd been an advisor" (Tape no. 11). Because of the number and diversity of subject areas involved, and based on data from 44% of my respondents, it seems that many committee members were not personally responsible for selecting their advisors; instead, they relegated that responsibility to "curriculum leaders" in their schools or at the district office.

The question of how textbook committee members collected and used their advisors' information to guide their balloting, and the related question regarding whether or not State Board members followed the advice of their advisors in particular or their voting constituencies in general, are presented below.

Decisionmakers as Representatives

In Chapter Two, I described the importance of the concept of representation as it is actualized in any decisionmaking situation where a few elected or appointed persons make decisions for the many. The making of policy requires decisions to be viewed as authoritative (legitimate). In the Texas textbook system, the legal authority for such actions was written into the state constitution; participants' legal authority stemmed entirely from the State Board which, as an elected body, appointed the Commissioner who hired a staff who, together, recommended members for the State Textbook Committee who were appointed by the State Board of Education. In the public's eye, the reverse of this chain served to legitimate the textbooks themselves: the textbook committee initially selected them, the Commissioner and his staff reviewed them, and the

State Board formally adopted them.

But while this structure may have served to satisfy the general public's concern for the legitimacy of selected texts, it was argued that the professionals who would be bound, by law, to use the books would need more convincing. This additional legitimacy of "professional authority" was believed to result largely from two factors: (1) that the STC consisted of a majority of classroom teachers representing districts from across the state; and (2) that each of the textbook committee members sought the help of a number of subject matter specialists in each textbook area who would review the books and provide recommendations to their committee member based upon their subject matter expertise.

Preliminary interview data suggested that, although committee members do, indeed, seek the input of dozens of such specialists, they may not always follow their advice; that is, after the first ballot for any given book, they may not necessarily "vote their advisors."

Members of the State Board of education also used textbook advisors to help in their textbook evaluations. As elected officials, they were also directly responsible to a voting constituency when it came to their textbook decisions.

This became an area of interest that I attempted to better understand. I wanted to learn if these committee members felt that their decisions were representative (i.e., not different than) their subject area peers. In addition, I was interested in learning how they approached the balloting responsibilities regarding subject areas other than their own areas of expertise; that is, to what extent they followed their advisors' recommendations, and how they justified not doing so. As for the State Board members, I wanted to try and determine the extent to which they followed their advisors' input and whether or not they felt their decisions were a reflection of their constituents. With this information I could attempt to categorize the representational styles most frequently exhibited by these decision groups. In this section, I present these data and their analyses, first from the textbook committee and then the State Board.

State Textbook Committee Members

Committee members were asked whether the decisions they made pertaining to books in their own area of expertise (e.g., social studies) would have been virtually identical, somewhat different, or considerably different than a randomly selected group of their subject area peers. They could also select "Don't know." Elaborations to these responses were sought during follow-up interviews.

Two respondents (22%), both teachers, chose the "Don't know" option. In the words of one, "I would have no way of knowing that. . . . I would have hoped that . . . we would have been similar in the thinking, but I really don't know" (Tape no. 16). Two supervisors and a teacher (33%) felt that their selections would have been "somewhat different" than a randomly selected group of their subject area peers. In one case, this resulted from the belief that the member's teaching style may have been different than others': "Perhaps the way I taught [pause] was different than the way teachers in the [Rio Grande] Valley or in Fort Worth and so on would be teaching" [she felt her style was more holistic than most] (Tape no. 54). Another echoed this line of reasoning. "I thought I was more holistic than [most of my subject area peers] were. . . . Well, you know, the world is wider than the third grade . . ." (Tape no. 26). The remaining four respondents, including the two superintendents, felt that their choices would have been "virtually identical" to those made by randomly selected subject area peer groups.

These data indicate that members are united in their belief that their decisions would not have been "considerably different" from those of their peers. The teachers who answered "Don't know" were taking the response too literally, perhaps; of course there is no way of knowing, but the question was intended to solicit something other than known fact. Based on the interview data from two of the three choosing the "somewhat different" response, it appears that they would have selected "identical" if their subject area peers had been more "holistic" teachers.

No one felt that their decisions would have been considerably different than a randomly selected group of their subject area peers. This suggests that, in spite of their being obviously singled-out as leaders in these fields, there is no evidence to suggest that these "leaders" believe that they were "out of touch" with their professional peers.

Data can be found in the social studies balloting record to support this contention. Even though sixteen series were submitted, first-ballot tallies show that only nine series received any votes on the first ballot (see Table 3). This seems to prove something the publishers, committee members, and advisors all apparently knew; that there were, indeed, "only seven or eight books" considered appropriate in the first place.

Keep in mind, however, that of the fifteen committee members, only two were social studies "experts"; thirteen others were supposedly "voting their advisors," at least on the first ballot. There appear to have been some fairly strong ritualistic aspects of the system, one of which was the practice of having no discussion prior to the first ballot. The Commissioner, himself, during the May 7 orientation meeting in Austin, urged the committee to adopt this practice, suggesting that it "would perhaps prevent multiple ballots and would be a truer expression of the recommendations of the members' advisors" (Texas Education Agency, 1971, p. viii). There is reason to believe, however, that between the time the members reconvened in Austin to hear the petitioners (they would have arrived the afternoon or evening of September 13 to attend hearings that began the following morning) and the time the social studies books were selected (after lunch on September 15), STC members had had discussions among themselves concerning the social studies books (Tape nos. 26 & 40).

What information did these members bring with them to the balloting table, and how closely did they follow their advisors? Members were asked to describe how their advisors were instructed to report their findings. Two members recalled that they received positive and negative comments pertaining to each book submitted in each subject area. In social studies, therefore, these members would have received sixteen separate reports from their social studies advisory groups. Another two committee members reported asking each advisor to submit her/his own prioritized list. In other words, if they had three people on their social

Table 3

1971 Social Studies Textbook Votes by Ballot*

Publisher	Ballot 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Allyn & Bacon	4	3	4	4	1	0	0
American Book	6	3	4	1	0	0	0
Field Educational Publication	10	Listed					
Harcourt Brace	10	Listed					
Jones-Kenilworth	6	4	3	5	5	6	2
Laidlaw	6	3	4	5	9	9	13
Macmillan	10	Listed					
Scott Foresman	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
Silver Burdette	12	Listed					

Note.

1. * A textbook must receive 10 or more votes in order to be put on the list.

studies advisory committee, they would receive three separate, prioritized lists of social studies books. The majority (56%), however, said that their advisory groups were asked to reach a consensus regarding the books and to present one prioritized list reflecting their evaluation decisions. From this response, we can assume that these members arrived at the balloting table with a list of social studies series with the best book at the top, the next best beneath it, and so forth.

These data suggest that in many cases, members "came to the table" with either multiple prioritized lists of books or multiple evaluations of each series submitted. Their responsibility, then, would have been to sift through those reports to determine which series had received the best reports. "I had information galore!" laughed one of the interviewees: "Like a lawyer" (Tape no. 26). The majority of the respondents, on the other hand, apparently had had this job done by their advisors and were left with prioritized lists. For them, it was simply a matter of following them.

Of the eight survey respondents (one member couldn't recall how he treated his advisors' recommendations), five (63%) claimed that they followed their advisors' recommendations in every case involving books outside of their area of subject expertise and three (37%) answered that, in subject areas other than their own, they followed their advisors recommendations "in most cases." They had been advised by the Commissioner during their orientation to "vote their conscience," and it appears that in some cases, at least, this is precisely what they did. "I felt," one man recalled, "like I was a free person to vote . . . the way I felt my conscience dictated" (Tape no. 26).

Voting their conscience, among other things, apparently prompted members to both seek and offer advice following the initial ballot. The record shows that this was the case during the 1971 balloting. In situations where this occurred, it was important from the publishers' perspective to have determined earlier which members were going to be "followers" and which would be strong decisionmakers. Superintendents were the obvious leaders on the committee, and it was anathema for a book when one of them spoke against it; subject specialists were the others who could make or break a book's future. Interviewees did not recall much open discussion during the social studies balloting though one of the social studies experts on the committee did acknowledge that there was a good deal of "eye-to-eye contact as books were mentioned. They'd look at you and you'd nod yes or no . . ." (Tape no. 26).

In short, we are left with data which suggest that the 1971 textbook committee, without formal discussion, appears to have "voted their advisors" on the first ballot, although there was ample opportunity to have discussed decisions informally beforehand, and two of the participants claim that this was the case. Following the first ballot, members of the committee discussed the merits or demerits of certain series in an effort to reduce the number of series available for selection. The value of this information seems to have rested largely on the person offering it, with the superintendents and subject specialists likely to carry the most weight. Oddly enough, however, most of the members believed that they followed their advisors' recommendations in every case. From the data available regarding the advisor information brought to the balloting and the ways in which that information had been reported to the committee members, we can surmise that members did *not* simply bring with them a list of (in our case) five social studies series, but that most arrived with enough information for them to justify voting for at least seven or eight series, depending on how the ballots turned out and what additional information they received either prior to or during the balloting procedure.

Based upon this information, we can see that textbook committee members, on the whole, do not fit the "delegate" style of representation; that is, they are not guided solely by the expressed preferences of their advisors even at the expense of their own best judgement. This style of representation, had it been adopted during the 1971 social studies balloting, would have led to the untenable situation of deadlock over the listing of a fifth series, since none had received a clear majority even by the fourth ballot (see Table 3).

On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that neither did they simply follow their own values and beliefs to the exclusion of their advisors' input. Assuming that each member had several books which her/his advisors had rated highly (perhaps equally highly), their switching votes was probably, to a large extent, seen as following the advice they had received. The style of representation best reflected by the data seems to be what Mann (1977) described as the "politico" style, which allows the actors to borrow

> from either the trustee or delegate styles as dictated by situations but [with] some internally consistent rationale for doing so. The

> politico does not merely waffle but rather enacts a trustee or delegate orientation according to the dictates of circumstance. (Mann, 1977, p. 80)

The "dictates of circumstance," in this case, were the need to arrive at a consensus, additional pertinent information (formal and informal, verbal and non-verbal) obtained by the members, and the leeway inherent in the advisors' information itself to recognize more than only five series as the best.

As for the question of "representational legitimacy" discussed in Chapter Two, survey data suggest that committee members selecting books in areas other than their own area of expertise followed their advisors' recommendations in either every case (63%) or in most cases (37%). If we combine these responses with those which showed that, within their own subject area, no members felt that their decisions would have been considerably different than a randomly selected group of their peers, we can see that in the minds of committee members, their decisions were a fair and reasonably close representation of their advisors and subject area peers. In the section which follows, I provide similar analyses for the State Board of Education members.

State Board of Education Members

Like the State Textbook Committee members, members of the State Board had a larger constituency to represent and, in some cases, also used advisors to review the books being adopted. These similarities cannot be stretched too far, however. The board's job was to review primarily content, their reviews were typically done on select books or questionable passages, and the time they had in which to accomplish this task was considerably less than the summer-long period enjoyed by the textbook committee. Nevertheless, we can attempt to determine the extent to which they attended to their advisors (when they used them), or their voting constituents.[4]

Six members responding to the survey (46%) indicated that they used no advisors prior to their textbook voting. It may well be that those members all shared the faith expressed by one interviewee who explained that he felt no need to ask teachers or subject specialists to duplicate the job that had already been done by the State Textbook Committee (Tape no. 22). It is also likely that members with textbook questions consulted Agency staff, yet did not see this as having enlisted the aid of an advisor.

The remaining seven respondents (54%) did use advisors, though the extent to which these advisors influenced the members' textbook decisions shows no definitive pattern; four said that these advisors had *some* influence on their decisions regarding certain books, two claimed that their advisors had *considerabe* influence on their decisions regarding certain books, and the remaining two testified that their choice of *each* book was influenced by their advisors, one to a considerable extent and the other to some extent.

As might be expected, talking with a number of these people revealed that the nature and extent of their advisors' influence was almost always situationally specific; that is, it depended on the particular book, the particular protest, etc. To have had advisors who influenced their choice of each book or even certain books considerably may have appeared to most members as a shirking of their responsibilities in some way or another; nonetheless, at least one respondent noted that he was "influenced tremendously" by his advisors (Survey no. 262). The more typical situation, no doubt, was described by a member who saw his advisors' input as simply more information for him to consider in his final decisions: "I took a look at it -- a hard look at it. I don't say that I always agreed with it, but I took a look at it. You bet!" (Tape no. 15).

The question, then, of the importance of advisor input for State Board members is difficult to answer with any degree of general certainty. From our previous discussion of influence it was learned that this group seemed to be influenced more by their staff than any other single group. If we can assume that their "advisors" were oftentimes this same staff (not a far-reaching assumption by any means), we might then postulate that even some of the six members who did not typically use advisors were often basing their textbook decisions on information provided by this group. If this were true, then we might be able to suggest here that a large majority of board members claimed some degree of influence by their advisors in certain textbook decisions.

However, what the data simply tell us is that slightly more members used advisors than not, and that their advisors' recommendations carried different degrees of importance with different members at different times, although it did tend to have some influence on certain of their textbook votes.

I was much more successful in gathering information regarding members' constituent influence. Three respondents (23%) indicated that their textbook decisions were directly affected or influenced by their constituents, in one case, considerably. In contrast, better than three-quarters of them (77%) assured me that their constituents had nothing to do with their textbook decisions and that their textbook decisions had nothing (consciously) to do with their constituents.

Despite this apparent somersault in logic, interview data indicate that, in all but the most "textbook active" congressional districts (e.g., those in East Texas near the home of the Gablers), there was no memory of citizen concern expressed to board members (Tape no. 15). The reasoning behind my assertion that members (of this board, at least) did not act consciously with the interests of their constituency in mind comes from my belief that there was no motivation for them to do so. Members indicated that they were serving in low-visibility positions which did not hold any real political appeal. These were unpaid volunteers, not "politicians" aspiring to a higher platform or working to concentrate their power base. Without the need to please the voters, there is little to suggest that the voters' wrath or reward ever entered their minds during textbook adoptions. If they had anyone on their minds at that time, it may have only been their district's educational personnel. Comments from board members reveal the basis for these beliefs:

> SBE Member 1: I didn't have any [contact with constituents during textbook adoptions]. Well, most of them didn't even know I was on the

> board [laughs]. No, we were selected to do the job and they expected us to do the best we could, and that's what I did. (Tape no. 32)
>
> SBE Member 2: There were two reasons for [sayng that I was not influenced by my constituents]. One was [that] most of them didn't give a darn and they didn't try to influence you. The second was . . . a number of people, you'd say you were a member of the State Board of Education [and they would ask] "Well what do they do?" which is not a platform from which you can run for other offices. (Tape no. 22)
>
> SBE Member 3: We never did have anyone that was really that interested in it. If they were interested in it, I did not know. (Tape no. 21)
>
> SBE Member 4: [There was] very little [constituent influence] as a matter of fact, simply because I was seldom contacted. In fact, I'm trying to remember any time that I ever *was* contacted by anyone but school personnel. (Tape no. 15)

These data support Ziegler & Jennings' (1974) findings that State Board members typically adopt the "trustee" style of representation. Most Texas State Board members who participated in the 1971 textbook adoptions based their decisions largely on their own values and beliefs regardless of whether these differed from their constituents. Even those who enlisted the aid of advisors appeared to seldom act as a delegate for those advisors but instead, adopted a "politico" style which allowed them to use that information as they saw fit, depending on the situation. As for the "representational legitimacy" of their decisions, I can say with some certainty that in cases where board members used advisors, they paid attention to their input and followed their recommendations under certain circumstances and in certain cases. There is little data to suggest that these formal textbook decisions made by the State Board can be called representative of the general voting public in any but the most literal sense that they were being made by people whose elections must certainly have been "nonevents" (Sroufe, 1969) and who felt, in most cases, like forgotten officeholders.

Participants' General Impressions of the Texas Textbook System

The final area of interest related to the Texas textbook system stemmed from the beliefs of Spalding (1955) and others as discussed in Chapter Two that people involved with such systems believed that successful outcomes (e.g., acquiring the best textbooks) were dependent not on the quality of the participants or their actual input but on the successful operation of the system itself. Simply put, a properly functioning system will produce the best books. I assumed that all, or virtually all of the key participants would believe that the best books had been adopted because all of my preliminary interviewees believed this. I asked this straightforward question, following it with requests for elaboration by all interviewees.

For similar reasons, all participants were asked to comment on the strengths and weaknesses of the system. The IED study (1969) found that teachers who had participated in textbook adoptions had little to criticize, despite some obvious drawbacks such as time constraints, rigidity of schedules, and inattention paid to unique student populations which were discussed more fully by Tulley (1983) and Saliterman (1971). This uncritical attitude was used by Saliterman (1971) as an important factor in her arguement that adopting textbooks has become a ritual for those who participate in it. In the section which follows, I present survey and interview data describing how those who took part in the 1971 social studies textbook selection and adoption in Texas felt about their experiences, the results of those experiences, and the system itself.

Procuring the Best Textbooks

When asked if the Texas system succeeded in providing the schools with the best possible textbooks, 100% of the textbook committee respondents said yes. I asked the three interviewees to elaborate:

> STC Member 1: I mean best as far as [pause] Well, Texas involves a lot of different ethnic groups and so on . . . And then the country schools, city schools, . . . It's such a large and diverse state, such a diverse clientele. I thought that that's the best way to [pause] maybe not, I don't know. I'm not always convinced about that . . . I was convinced at the time, anyway. (Tape no. 54)

> STC Member 2: Well, I think that's a very fair way of doing it in that

> you have input from a large number of people . . . Of course, I think the teachers that are selected to be on the advisory committees are very strong teachers and some of the best teachers . . .who were really committed and really professional people. I felt that they gave their honest advice and then, with the help of consultants . . ., I think we got the very best opinions and advice that we could. . . . involving a lot of people. (Tape no. 16)
>
> STC Member 3: Definitely! . . . Not that the State Textbook Committee is *the thing*, but the smaller districts, a lot of districts throughout the state need certain directions. . . . So you just try to do whatever you think is better for the state or for the children . . . (Tape no. 26)

It is apparent from these responses that these members, at least, were hard pressed to put their finger on why they felt sure that the best books had been adopted. The second respondent seems to believe that the inclusion of a variety of input from teachers and consultants assured the best results, while the third respondent and, to some extent, perhaps, the first, may have a somewhat more patronizing attitude in their intimations that through the system, smaller schools would get the best materials. The assumption here is that educators working in those schools and districts were not capable of making the best decisions themselves. The first respondent, interestingly enough, found it impossible to continue the argument for insuring some degree of statewide curricular uniformity (which is what I presume was the eventual destination of her rationale) after describing the many conditions which are used as one strong argument against state-level textbook adoption by it opponents. Overall, however, there is nothing here from which to draw any substantive conclusions.

Board members were asked the same survey question, with two members answering "No" and eleven "Yes". Three of those responding in the affirmative inserted qualifications, two of which were "of those available" and the other read "while I served." They, too, were asked to elaborate.

> I think the review and research and study of textbooks by people at the grass roots level, in other words, the teachers that are hand-selected by . . . an impartial committee -- I think that's the most important part right there. Because a teacher that's taught for 15 or 20 years *certainly* knows better then most people what is a good textbook. And that is, I think, the keystone of the whole system. (Tape no. 21)

Another respondent felt that having the public hearings was the keystone of the system. His reasoning, if I'm not mistaken (for it was difficult to follow), was that these hearings, because they allowed those who he referred to as "nuts" to be heard, served to "protect" decisionmakers from some sort of public backlash, permitting them the freedom to choose the best books (Tape no. 15).

One of those who had included "of those available" with his response, said that he was quoting Dr. Edgar in doing so (Edgar made this point during our interviews [Tape nos 1 & 2]). He was convinced that it was the publishers who controlled the quality of textbooks and argued, therefore, that if Texas was not adopting the best books it was because publishers were not producing the best books. I asked him how he would respond to someone who believed that, since Texas provided guidelines for publishers to follow, then those who construct and adopt those guidelines (the proclamations) could be seen as responsible for the number and quality of textbooks made available to Texas. There was a long interval of silence, broken by the words "I'll have to think about that for a minute" (Tape no. 22). We then changed the subject.

Two members did respond negatively. During our telephone conversation, one embellished his negative response to my question of whether the system provided the best textbooks:

> No more than I think that the system provided the best education. But under the circumstances . . .it probably worked, in that particular time, well. . . . But certainly it did not provide the *best*, nor did we provide the best teachers, nor do we do so today. (Tape no. 15)

These responses are almost as difficult to analyze as those offered by the textbook committee members. Two of these decisionmakers are supporting the notion of the system itself being responsible for producing the best books. One, although seemingly praising the teachers who make the decisions, is in fact praising a system which (he believes, mistakenly) impartially selects a group of seasoned veterans to accomplish this. We have seen already that neither the 1971 textbook committee nor their advisors were impartially selected and that one third of the committee's members were not teachers. Another believes that it is the act of allowing public hearings, a systemic feature, that allows the best books to be selected. In identifying the petitioners as "nuts," he is obviously not arguing that their actual information affects the quality of books.

With the others it is more difficult to determine. Even the man who offered a somewhat philosophical position eventually recognized that the system worked as well as it could. My inability to analyze the interview data at hand aside, it is still unquestionable that 85% of State Board members responding felt that the 1971 system succeeded in providing Texas with the best possible textbooks (available).

Those at the Agency offered their opinions, too. One staff member believed that the books were the best for three different reasons: (1) they were new and regularly updated; (2) they were acquired through a system which most local districts could not match *vis a vis* the amount of work and personnel hours; and (3) the structure of the system practically insured an absence of illicit practices by publishers (Tape no. 11). Obviously, this person's responses *all* deal with systemic results underscoring the purpose or intentionality of state-level adoptions (see Tulley, 1983).

A second Agency employee, now retired, answered this same question (were the best texts acquired) by discussing the absence of "political intrigue." As someone charged with the writing of proclamations and review of textbooks, it may seem a bit odd that I would receive a response which assured me that there was "as little cheap politics as possible" (Tape no. 35). This concern (or over-concern) for the way the game was played by the publishers, however, was a direct result of an atmosphere created and nurtured by Dr. Edgar, who was always worried not so much about extra-legal publisher activities but about the fortitude of those in decisionmaking positions.

"I think ninety percent of the time we got the best books available," the Commissioner told me. "Some of them may not have been very good books, but they were the best books available" (Tape no. 1). As I mentioned earlier, the Commissioner viewed decisions to alter or delete content as attempts to strengthen the books (Tape no. 3). He also rarely made any value judgements about the books selected by the textbook committee, adopting the position that all of their choices were "equally good."

In short, those at the Agency appear to believe that the system, when it worked well, succeeded in producing the best books and, conversely, if the best books were not adopted, it was a result of their not having been bid in the first place or simply a breakdown in the system (because some publisher "got to" someone on the textbook committee).

Each of the social studies series submitted that year was protested, some more vehemently than others. They represented something new in Texas, these "new social studies" books, and the record shows that the petitioners didn't like them. Nevertheless, five series were eventually adopted. I asked the petitioner responsible for filing protests against the American Book Company's series if he felt the best books had been selected (or if the worst, at least, had been eliminated). He remembered the year and remembered the books, saying that "we couldn't recommend a single one of the five because they were all so value-laden. They were *heavily* on the area of affective education . . . rather than facts" (Tape no. 48). He went on, recapturing the essence of all of their Bills of Particulars which had discussed the books' abundance of captionless pictures, their "fact-less" content, and their patriotic softness, noting that at least this latter problem appears to be improving with the resurgence of patriotism in the U.S. today. Publishers are adding "real patriotic content . . . for the Texas adoption" of late. There is no question here that this petitioner did not feel that Texas received the best elementary social studies books from the 1971 adoption cycle.

What did the American Book Company publishers think about the outcome of that social studies adoption? We can expect that their opinions in this matter are somewhat biased because their series was not listed; by the same token, they knew their competitors quite well and had to be able to evaluate all of the offerings. Their comments are both interesting and revealing.

During our interviews, each publisher was given a list of the sixteen series and asked to comment about them. They felt, before the campaign began, that three of the series would be adopted: Silver Burdette, Harcourt, and Macmillan. Each had strengths and advantages which would have been hard to ignore. There were also a number of series they felt at the start were "no competition": Benefic, Follett, Holt -- eight in all. I found it rather remarkable that these publishers, whose business it had been to know each series as well as or better than those on the textbook committee or their advisors, appear to have known beforehand which series were actual contenders.

But did the state receive the best social studies books that year in their opinion? The answer appears to be yes. Of those adopted, the ABC publishers agreed on "four programs that were very good" (Tape no. 46): as for the fifth series chosen, "It was a very good supplementary reader" (Tape no. 40). It was a series which, in the minds of the American publishers, did not fit the call for the "new social studies," and according to the state of the art of social studies education at that time, should not have been selected. "But it was there because there were so many people [teachers and citizens alike] who wanted that kind of book there" (Tape no. 40). In short, the publishers were satisfied that the best books had been selected, thanks to a "system [that] has generally put the better books [in the schools]" (Tape no. 47), and that even the one series they all agreed was not representative of the rest would be the best for some teachers and communities within the state.

Strengths of the Selection and Adoption System

Each of the nine textbook committee members responded to my request asking them to identify the system's strengths. They felt that having many teachers representing a cross-section of the professional population was an obvious strength, and that the system was a fair and effective way to insure that the best books were selected. These feelings are represented by the following comment: "It seemed very fair, and the members on the committee in 1971 seemed to be very educated and dedicated people" (Survey no. 163, item no. 17).

Responses from the State Board members really fell into two distinct categories: strengths in the system's processes and strength in its products. Of the ten responses, six pertained to the former and four to the latter. Process strengths included its "grass roots origins," its typically large number of textbooks initially bid, its multi-level evaluation procedure (three decisionmaking groups), and the fact that flaws were uncovered during the public hearings. In addition, the structure of the system allowed "less opportunity for collusion" while providing for "maximum professional input," especially through the State Textbook Committee. There were no patterns in these responses save for the recognition of professional input with the textbook committee which was mentioned by two board members.

The system was also deemed to have strengths regarding its outcomes or products -- the textbooks adopted. Single mention was given to three aspects: (1) books were of a better quality; (2) five selections were provided in each subject area; and (3) the system insured the best textbook prices. Of the four members who included "product" strengths, all noted the value of curriculum uniformity which results from state-level adoption. Once again, there were no real patterns here save for some mention of uniform studies by four members.

Texas Education Agency personnel also held an array of feelings about the system's strengths. As mentioned earlier, the value of finding strong professionals who were above accepting bribes for their votes was a theme running through all of their interviews. Two noted the value of public hearings (Tape nos. 3 & 11), although my belief is that these were seen as valuable democratic processes rather than valuable forums for critical input. One of these respondents felt that the petitioners paid as much if not more attention to seeing that proper procedures were followed than to textbook concerns (Tape no. 1). The other, speaking about one petitioner in particular, felt that that person was "phony from the word go!" (Tape no. 11). That the system was seen as both professional and explicit (rule-oriented) by all who took part in it were strengths that the Commissioner of Education mentioned repeatedly throughout our interviews (Tape nos. 1, 2, &3). In short, those within the Agency, not surprisingly, felt that the strength of the system lay in its "professionalness" -- its ability to remain above petty politics by using strong decisionmakers and following strict rules -- and its provision for public input. As might be expected, this avenue for citizen input was the only strength mentioned by the petitioner in response to the question (Tape no. 48).

Publishers were asked for their views on this question of system strengths. While discussing the value of cultivating professional friends throughout the state, one of them admitted that even luck doesn't carry anyone assurances because of the system's actual design:

> We've all been in this business a long time [and] we've all got a lot of friends. You never know when someone's going to turn up [on the STC] that you've known for a long time. And if that happens, it's the luck of

> the draw. But . . . one person on that State Textbook Committee is *not* going to assure you of a place on the list. That won't happen. The system has too many checks and balances. (Tape no. 47)

The absence of what has been referred to earlier as "petty politics" was another strength identified by two of the American Book Company publishers. "This is one of the cleanest systems that [I know]" offered one publisher who has worked in all of the "adoption states" (Tape no. 47). Another, recalling their not being listed in the 1971 social studies adoption, mused that perhaps if the system had not been so "clean," it might have been worth some "under the table" activities considering the piece of the market they lost (Tape no. 41).

Looking back, we can see that in addition to the perception held by all participants (save the petitioners) that the system almost always provides the best textbooks, it is seen to have additional strengths as well. Those most frequently mentioned across participant groups were all structural or process strengths, and included (1) the use of an "educated and dedicated" collection of "grass-roots" professionals (STC and advisors) in the initial decision phase, (2) the invitation for public input, and (3) the multi-level evaluation and decsionmaking structure which provides "less opportunity for collusion."

Weaknesses of the Selection and Adoption System

Some participants held equally strong opinions about the system's weaknesses. Only six of nine former textbook committee members offered comments here, and there was no discernable pattern to their remarks. Comments included the fact that there were too many books and not enough time to properly evaluate all of them, that the procedure resulted in "some infringement on local needs and control, that having non-teaching people on the textbook committee was a weakness, and that the petitioning process was one-sided (this has since changed). The only item listed by two members was the amount of time spent listening to petitioners.

Board members' responses fell more comfortably into patterns. Of the twelve who offered responses, four made mention of the inherent weakness in all state adoptions to adequately address the "special needs" of teachers, students, and districts throughout such a diverse state. "Time" appeared as another category, receiving mention by four members. Although one member felt the entire procedure took too much time, the others mentioning time as a weakness made specific reference to the public hearings. "Too much time spent in public hearings from start to finish" wrote one (Survey no. 256, item 16), while another blamed this "delay" on "extremist groups" (Survey no. 255, item 16). The remaining category emerging from these responses dealt with the responsibility of the State Board itself in seeing that the system worked properly. In other words, they understood that their own inattention to the authoritative linkages involved (the Commissioner they appointed, the staff he hired, and the textbook committee members whom they appointed on the recommendation of the Commissioner and staff) held the potential to become a weakness. As one member wrote: "The final selection is as good as the State Board of Education" (Survey no. 259, item 16).

There was no specific discussion of the system's weaknesses during my petitioner interview. My feeling, based on the areas that were discussed, is that if there was one weaknesses perceived by this petitioner, it would be that the system was top-heavy with educators who were making textbook decisions. This feeling is based on the repeated talk about "traditional American values" missing in the books, values which, according to the petitioner, are not held by the majority of educators. Two of the three decision phases were, of course, controlled by such professionals who also understood and spoke "educationese" and who were more sympathetic "to people with whom they agree much more than people *with whom they do not agree" (Tape no. 48).*

Those at the Agency were less able to identify specific weaknesses. This was due to the fact that they were directly responsible for seeing that the system functioned smoothly and properly, and as soon as a problem was identified, they initiated the necessary adjustments. There had been concern expressed, for example, that publishers might have been meeting with committee members and advisors surreptitiously. That problem was alleviated with the requiring of "contact records" to be kept by publishers and committee members -- a practice which began in 1971. Another on-going concern among Agency personnel was how much time to allot for petitioner input. Over the years, different formula were suggested to each textbook committee; fifteen minutes per petitioner, ten minutes per publisher, five minutes per book, twenty minutes per series. No scheme proved perfect.

My point here is that the people at the Agency had little to say about the system's weakness because, in their minds, they were always striving to make it work better; if it had weaknesses, they were probably deemed small and temporary.

Publishers, too, saw weaknesses in the system, though of a decidedly different flavor. That a textbook's success was almost as dependent upon the way its company's campaign was run as it was on the quality of the book itself was mentioned by one (Tape no. 41). This theme appeared throughout publishers' interviews as they talked about entertaining, successfully identifying strong committee members, advisors, and/or district supervisors who will speak as allies for one's books, and the value of having an appealing "act." One even told me about a particular series bid that year which "wasn't competitive because thay didn't have a sales staff that was worth a damn" (Tape no. 47).

A second theme that emerged from all the publishers' interviews was the way in which the proclamations were used. Because proclamations were worded so carefully yet read so generally, there was much room for interpretation and tha chance for what one publisher called "semantic battles" among and between participant groups (Tape no. 47). This could be seen as a weakness if decisionmakers decided to use the document to *remove* textbooks from contention, which was their primary purpose for being according to one publisher (Tape no. 47). This same gentleman also felt that petitioners' use of the print and television media might also be interpreted as a weakness if it resulted in the alteration of otherwise sound textbook decisions.

In reviewing the weaknesses of the system identified by former participants, few themes emerge. In fact, only three were mentioned by two or more participant groups. The strongest concern -- shared by members of the textbook committee, State Board, and the Commissioner -- was that the system was bound to neglect the particular needs of some students and teachers in some schools in Texas. Dr. Edgar confessed that this had become a concern of his late in his 24-year tenure and that he would like to have had the opportunity to give serious consideration to plans which would have revised the system somehow to enable local districts to make textbook decisions themselves (Tape no. 2).

A second strong theme growing out of the respondent data is that of time. Members of the two large decision groups felt that the system demanded too much time of its volunteer participants and that too much of this time was taken up by petitioners. My feeling is that their problem was not in having to listen to petitioners per se, but in having to listen to one or more petitioners repeating the same protest over and over; person A finding problem B in book C, person D finding problem B in book C, etc., or person A finding problem B in book C (and then later) person A finding problem B in book E (and later) in book F, book G, etc.

The last theme was raised and discussed by one of the publishers and was included in written form on two of the textbok committee surveys. It was the suggestion that there was perhaps as much selling as selection of textbooks, a weakness indeed for a company which may have a good book but a bad sales force (see Spalding, 1955). "I spent my entire summer studying textbooks, and seeing book men and consultants" one committee member recalled (Survey no. 163, item 19), suggesting that the time was equally divided. Another respondent felt that committee members needed to pay more attention to the materials and less attention to the entertainment surrounding them (Survey no. 162, item 19).

Summary of 1971 Case Study Data

Major Textbooks Evaluation Criteria

State Textbook Committee members. During the first phase, members of the State Textbook Committee paid closest attention to "organization and presentation of content" while looking closely, as well, at the "pedagogical strength" of the books and how well each adhered to the proclamation. All members used advisors (by design) and each incorporated some type of rating scale. While some operated on the assumption that all books satisfactorily met the proclamations, others used those guidelines as a way of eliminating (in our case) social studies series in order to concentrate their evaluation efforts on a smaller, more manageable number of series. This group was clearly responsible for comparing textbooks on two levels: first, to determine which of the submitted books were "good," and second, to select which of those were the best five for the state of Texas.

Texas Education Agency personnel. Although decisions at this stage were made by the Commissioner, he relied heavily on his curriculum staff to review each book and make recommendations to him. Those within the Agency responsible for reviewing textbooks were not concerned with having to determine whether or not the books were the best available; they felt that all textbook committee selections were "equally good." Instead, they looked for three things: (1) whether the books selected within a subject area were competitively priced; (2) whether they had any editorial or factual errors; and (3) whether each fit the proclamation. Based upon these criteria, they could ask for changes to be made in any book. If publishers could or would not agree to the changes, their book would be removed.

Their use of the criterion "adherence to the proclamation" was substantively different than that of the textbook committee members, however. Agency personnel were to make certain that all books recommended by the State Textbook Committee contained content which was acceptable for the Texas public schools. These judgements rested upon a broad-based understanding they felt they had of the professional and cultural needs and desires of the schools throughout Texas. Their judgements concerning "adherence to the proclamation" were thus not seen as a duplication of the textbook committee's use of the same criterion, for theirs was a considerably more holistic and philosophic reading of the proclamation.

State Board of Education members. Members of the State Board of Education, attending to the same criteria as did the textbook committee, relied heavily on the input of teachers, parents, and TEA staff to provide them with their pedagogical judgements (board members claimed to pay more attention to "pedagogical strength" than to "adherence to the proclamation"). SBE members were selective in which books and/or parts of books they reviewed, guided almost entirely by the subject area, the availability of advisor input, and the extent to which the books had been protested (see next section). They saw their most critical decisions, when they had such decisions to make, to be those concerning content; specifically, content that was open to interpretation based upon the proclamations. Members of this board, however, expressed an amazing degree of support for the decisions which had been made by the textbook committee and Agency personnel.

Influence on Textbook Decisionmakers

Petitioner influence on State Textbook Committee members.

Textbook committee members apparently believed that petitioners were addressing some of the same criteria (e.g., "organization and presentation of content") that STC members themselves had seen as important; on the other hand, there was no indication by committee members that petitioners' concerns were connected to the proclamations.

Respondents were split on the question of petitioner influence, with slightly more than half believing that petitioners had some degree of influence on certain of their textbook choices and the others reporting that petitioners had no influence on their textbook decisions. Of those who felt influenced, 60% claimed this was a result of the petitioners' Bills of Particulars. The others felt more influenced by the petitioners' testimony at the public hearing held before the STC and the Commissioner the day before balloting. If these people altered their decisions, it would have been without an opportunity for consultation with their advisors. While it is impossible to say for certain that petitioners affected the outcome of the textbook balloting, the data lead me to believe that petitioners had little or no effect on the four elementary social studies series listed on the first ballot. Whether or not it affected the fifth series which took six additional ballots to be listed is unknown.

Petitioner influence on Texas Education Agency personnel. If influence is understood to include success in focusing the attention of others, petitioners had much more influence on Agency personnel than on textbook committee members. Because of the way in which this group attended to the proclamation guidelines (its concern with questionable content) and because TEA evaluators had the power to request changes in content, petitioners wrote their "Bills" with a special awareness toward this group.

However, interview data from the principals involved suggest that if specific petitioner concerns were agreed with by those at the Agency, they would more than likely be those from petitioners who argued for liberal rather than conservative causes (when, for example, liberal is understood as a concern for sex bias while conservative is understood as a concern for collectivist bias).

Although Agency reviews and evaluations were at least guided in part by specific textbook protests, there is no evidence to suggest that any substantive changes were made in the elementary social studies series listed, nor that any changes suggested could be attributable to petitioners. Indeed, the Commissioner recommended each of the five textbooks selected despite the fact that protesters found them all unacceptable.

Petitioner influence on State Board of Education members. Sixty-nine percent of the respondents from this group felt that they had been influenced to one degree or another in their textbook decisions by petitioners. Based upon previous information regarding which books these board members attended to and elaborations of their responses during board members' interviews, "influence" with this group may again have been the petitioners' power to direct the attention of those on the State Board to certain books or passages within books and perhaps generate discussion or debate (no record of such exchanges exists in the board minutes).

There is some evidence that information provided by petitioners did actually influence some board members' textbook decisions that year, though not in the social studies area. Several board members moved to have three English Composition books removed from their list -- books which had been protested at the earlier hearing as well as before the board. None of these attempts was successful. Despite their apparent lack of success in actually affecting textbook decisions made by this group, petitioners may have had their greatest likelihood of doing so at this final decision phase.

Publisher influence on State Textbook Committee members. When asked what aspects of their books publishers appeared to stress, respondents identified the same three criteria that they had been most concerned with: "organization and presentation of content," adherence to the proclamation," and "pedagogical strength." Two-thirds of the committee respondents acknowledged that they had been influenced to one extent or another in their textbook selections by publishers.

There is no reason to believe that this "influence" resulted from questionable or unethical practices; on the contrary, it appears that publishers had their greatest influence as a result of the sort of information they provided and the impression they made on members of this decision group. Publishers know their competition well -- perhaps better than most textbook committee members. They are able to determine which companies' books will be their stiffest competition and design their own presentations to "play-off" their competitors' products. When extolling the virtues of their books' use of inquiry, for example, they are careful to point out that their books do not go overboard with inquiry "like some of our competitors." In short, they provide very specific, selective information to reviewers who can use it, if they wish, as a way to compare and eventually eliminate other books. They were, in large part, "guiding" the evaluators.

Another form of influence resulted from the impression made on selectors by the publishers, their products, or their campaigns. Interview data indicate that there were social studies series that year which had strong "eye appeal"; there were publishers who did or did not get along well with committee members; and there were companies emphasizing their group presentations as gala and memorable affairs. In some combination, all of these -- product appeal, personnel, and entertainment -- were concerns of every publisher which worked to influence committee members.

Publisher influence on Texas Education Agency personnel. There is little or nothing to indicate that publishers had any direct influence on the textbook decisions made by Agency personnel. Oftentimes the Commissioner and his staff decided to request changes in books and publishers were asked to attend "show cause" meetings to defend the material. However, rarely did they refuse to remove or change something the Commissioner expected to be altered.

There is reason to believe that publishers had influence of a different sort on those at the Agency. By maintaining a collegial, working relationship with Agency staff (and in a different way, with the Commissioner), publishers were able to gain a tacit understanding of how staff conducted their textbook reviews *vis a vis* what they looked for and how they interpreted certain protests. This understanding was useful information to those responsible for creating textbooks bid in Texas in that their books were less likely to contain content needing to be defended or changed.

Conversely, those at the Agency gained a tacit understanding of publishers' concerns. Interview data indicate a mutual respect between the two groups. Those at the Agency saw publishers as partners in the process of getting good textbooks into Texas schools, and they were aware of the problems associated with this task. As long as publishers "played by the rules" there was little reason not to respect and appreciate their involvement. In short, there was a tacit, on-going collegial influence acting reciprocally throughout the entire adoption cycle.

Publisher influence on State Board of Education members. Better than 84% of the board members responding to the survey reported no publisher influence on their textbook decisions. This appeared to be due, in part, to the infrequency with which publishers offered verbal rebuttal to protests.

Another partial explanation, according to interview data, is that by the time the hearings came to the board, members had an awareness of both the protests and their "obvious" rebuttals. The whole thing had become routine by 1971 (at least with regard to what were seen as the "conservative protests"), and board members apparently paid little heed to publishers' presence when making their decisions. Somewhat related to this is the possibility that what publishers did have to say (in writing and in person) was usually in the form of a pedagogical defense of their materials -- a defense less suited to this decision group than the previous two.

A final partial explanation, also based upon interview data, is that board members understood themselves to be casting votes to allow certain books to be sold throughout the state. These were business decisions, and the men and women representing books, when all was said and done, were sales people expected to say whatever they felt board members wanted to hear. Finally, there was little in common between the two groups. All of the above factors had much to do with publishers' apparent absence of influence on this State Board of Education's textbook decisions.

Serving as State Textbook Committee Members and Advisors

Survey and interview data gathered from all decision groups show that the two most important criteria for the selection of textbook committee members and their advisors were educational experience and subject area expertise. An additional and equally important criterion appears to have been "character" -- some assessment that nominees were not too "far-out" socially, politically, or pedagogically and would follow the rules. There is also reason to believe that some appointments went to educators who, because of their years in the profession or some particularly commendable service recently rendered, were being recognized or rewarded with an appointment to the textbook committee.

With the exception of the committee's administrators, who were personally selected by the Commissioner, members were usually nominated by TEA staff, although district superintendents were also asked to nominate teachers or supervisors. All nominees were screened through their respective superintendents.

This search for textbook committee members was bounded by certain logistical constraints. The committee had to include persons who could be seen as having expertise in all subject areas receiving new textbooks. There was a long-range, rotating schedule determining from which of the 21 congressional districts committee members were to be selected. In addition, serious attempts were made to balance the committees ethnically and, to a lesser extent, according to gender. Finally, a majority of the committee (at least eight members) had to be practicing classroom teachers. All of these considerations made the selection of textbook committee members as difficult as it was important.

A total of 882 advisors were appointed by committee members to help in the review and evaluation of textbooks. Being a committee member's advisor was seen by some as socially and professionally important. According to interview data, advisors' judgements, in some instances, were seen by publishers and committee members alike as carrying more weight than judgements of the committee member her/himself. The criteria most frequently mentioned in the selection of advisors were educational experience and subject area expertise.

Data indicate that as often as not, advisors were not selected personally by committee members but were instead selected by curriculum personnel employed at the school or district level believed to know best who was capable of evaluating textbooks in each subject area. Advisory committees had a chairperson responsible for maintaining communication with the textbook committee member. In many cases, they operated separately from the textbook committee member who may have only seen the results of their work at the end of the summer. Most advisory committees provided a prioritized listing of books in their area which the textbook committee member took to Austin for the textbook balloting. Having so many expert advisors working with each STC member lent legitimacy to the selections made by this group in the eyes of the state's educators.

Decisionmakers as Representatives

State Textbook Committee members.

None of the respondents felt that their textbook decisions would have been "considerably different" than a randomly selected group of their subject area peers. Additionally, the majority (63%) said that, in decisions involving textbooks outside of their subject area, most followed their advisors' recommendations in every case or most cases. Interview data reveal that when committee members voted differently than their advisors, it was probably only after realizing that their advisors' recommended books did not have any chance of being selected. In those instances, they were likely to seek information from the recognized subject expert on the textbook committee before changing their votes. The data indicate that the textbook decisions made by this group can be seen as legitimately representative of their peers and colleagues.

State Textbook Committee members did not appear to see themselves as "delegates" for their advisors in the strictest sense; that is, they did not always follow their advisors' recommendations. On the other hand, they stayed very close to the information and recommendations provided by their advisory groups and can therefore not be seen as adopting the "trustee" style of representation either. In using their own judgement in conjunction with advisor information to assess each voting situation, they comfortably fit the "politico" style of representative.

State Board of Education Members. More than half of these decisionmakers also used advisors to review textbooks. Survey and interview data were collected to determine how input from their advisors affected their decisions. There was no pattern in their responses, and the interviews showed that while some SBE members may have literally "voted their advisors" without ever seeing the books, others (who used advisors) simply wanted another opinion. All that can be said here is that board members who used advisory information did so selectively. It was impossible to establish trends which indicate the degree to which this information was influential in their textbook decisions although we can suggest from the data that those who did use advisors adopted a "politico" representational style in dealing with advisor input.

As for the question of representational style of this group with respect to their voting constituency, the survey and interview data leave no doubt that they operate as "trustees" for their voters. Seventy-seven percent said that their constituents had no influence on their textbook decisions and their interviews revealed that there was no conscious concern in their minds for how the voters might view such decisions after the fact.

If speculation can be made regarding the representational legitimacy of these board members *vis a vis* their constituents, it would have to be that textbook decisions made by the members of the State Board are not representative of the general public in any respect other than that they were made by people who were elected officials.

Participants' General Impressions of the Texas Textbook System

Procuring the best textbooks. With the exception of the petitioner, who felt that none of the social studies books that year were acceptable for Texas schools, virtually all of the participants felt that the best textbooks were adopted. Several, including the Commissioner, felt that these may have been only the best textbooks "available," believing that there might have been better books if publishers had produced better books. Interestingly, the publishers felt that one of the series selected was not as good as all the others but that it was probably to be considered one of the best because it was what some of the teachers and citizens of

Texas wanted. Elaborative data from the interviews suggest that participants saw the structure and function of the system (as opposed to the participants) as responsible for the best books being acquired.

Strengths of the selection and adoption system. No patterns emerged from the textbook committee members' responses to this item. They felt that having many teachers from throughout the state was a strength and that the system as a whole was a fair and effective way to select textbooks.

Members of the State Board identified process and product strengths. Their remarks to the former included the system's value of teacher input, its multi-level evaluation processes, and its ability to control the likelihood of collusion between publishers and decisionmakers. Product strengths included quality textbooks, multiple listings, low prices, and uniformity of curriculum.

Agency personnel felt that the system was especially strong because it was a well-defined and highly professional procedure and because it included public input. The inclusion of public participation was the major strength identified by the petitioner.

Publishers felt that one of the system's strengths was its series of decisionmakers -- from the hundreds of advisors at one end to the 21 member State Board at the other -- which provided valuable checks and balances. Another strength they mentioned was that the system was "clean"; i.e., there was little in the way of extra-legal activities going on.

Weaknesses of the selection and adoption system. Textbook committee members noted that not having sufficient time to do a proper job of evaluating so many textbooks, having non-teachers on the STC, the inability to meet the special needs of some students, teachers, and school districts in the state, and the amount of time spent listening to petitioners were all weaknesses of the system. Board members agreed with the problems concerning special needs and the time spent with petitioner concerns. In addition to these weaknesses, they mentioned the potential problems inherent in any policymaking procedure which rests on the dedication and commitment of those with decision responsibilities.

Petitioner and Agency personnel interviews produced little identification of specific weaknesses, probably because these participants are closest to the system's annual functioning and most concerned with identifying and alleviating its weaknesses. The Commissioner did mention, however, that he was especially concerned with its obvious inability to provide "special" books for "special" circumstances, a problem that could only be settled with some form of local textbook adoption. Publishers identified the comparable importance of the publishers' campaigns with that of their textbooks as a weakness (because books were as likely to be sold as selected). Another potential weakness according to them was the way in which the proclamations could be used. They were written to be broadly interpreted, but some otherwise good books could be eliminated in "semantic battles" with decisionmakers.

The above summary contains the major findings pertaining to my focus question and related areas of interest. They are based on data collected from those who were key participants in the 1971 selection and adoption of elementary social studies books in Texas. In the second portion of this chapter, I present and discuss similarly organized data from the 1980 selection and adoption of basal reading programs for the Texas schools.

Case Number Two: 1980 Basal Reading Adoption
Publisher: Ginn and Company

Following the organizational pattern established in the previous section, data from the 1980 year are presented and discussed as they pertain to my major focus questions and my three related areas of interest.

Major Textbook Evaluation Criteria Used by Decisionmakers

State Textbook Committee Members

According to respondents, the three textbook evaluation criteria most important enough to them were "adherence to the proclamation" (10 respondents - 91%), "organization and presentation of content" (9 respondents - 82%), and "pedagogical strength" (7 respondents - 64%). The 1980 proclamation contained a rather lengthy section of general content requirements (see Appendix R) which, for some, was useful as a way of lessening their work load: "Those that didn't adhere to the proclamation were removed," one member explained, "[but] the better books did adhere to the proclamation" (Tape no. 15).

Those involved in initial textbook selections considered twelve basal reading series which not only had to comply with the general content requirements but with specific basal reading requirements as well (see Appendix S). According to two interviewees, these specific proclamation requirements enabled them to identify certain series as noncontenders:

> [The problem with one series was that] all the way through it, it required workbooks to go with the series. [The proclamation] definately stated that the text had to stand alone, that it couldn't require anything else . . . That was an unacceptable series for that reason. It was a tremendous series -- a great series; but that made it unacceptable to me because it directly contradicted the [proclamation]. (Tape no. 28)

Concerning a different series, a second member recalled a decision made equally easy because of the specifications in the proclamation:

> [T]he proclamation said that it must be a complete program . . . Of course, [one] series didn't go all the way to [grade] eight. . . . It did not totally, in any way, meet the proclamation. . . . We took the proclamation *exactly*, word-for-word what it said, and we tended to adhere to it. (Tape no. 24)

Besides the state guidelines, the manner in which content was organized and presented was a criterion of almost equally strong importance to committee members. Asked to elaborate on the way "organization and presentation of content" had been useful in textbook evaluations, one non-teaching member of the textbook committee who had indicated this criterion as important replied: "There's not a whole lot to say about that other than you look at the books and you listen to what the publishers say [and] you listen to what your advisors tell you" (Tape no. 24). This, however, may have been an atypical awareness, for when I asked one of the reading specialists the same question, she provided a litany of concerns that fit within this category, from why a series would present "these five consonants first" to why another series had decided to present "long vowels before short vowels" (Tape no. 17).

In some cases, "pedagogical strength" was the most critical review factor. Not surprisingly, some veteran teachers and supervisors were willing to begin their search by looking for the best apparent tool and then checking to see if it met the proclamation requirements. One interviewee chuckled as she explained her number one rating of this criterion:

> Probably, they want you to say "adherence to the proclamation" first, but to me, the first criteria [sic] is that they have to be sound . . . material; that it's going to do the job. That's what I selected first. (Tape no. 28)

Despite the order in which these major criteria were used, interview data revealed that, in most cases, some sort of "evaluation sheet" or "check sheet" was used by members of and advisors. STC members were provided with samples (see Appendix M) of these guides by Agency personnel, yet three STC members whom I interviewed reported that they constructed their own evaluation forms. In many cases, these evaluation forms were used by all of the member's advisors as well:

> Myself, with some of the local people, thrashed-out some of the things we thought would be important to evaluate in textbooks. Ultimately, what I did was to sit down and put together an evaluation form and get feedback on it to make sure that it would be compatible with all the subject areas. It was very general so that it would cover all the subject areas. And that was what we used as a formal evaluation tool. (Tape no. 17)

Based upon the data collected, we can see that the State Textbook Committee members approached their textbook evaluations with three important criteria at hand: how well books fit the proclamation, how their content was organized and presented, and whether or not they would be strong teaching tools. These criteria (the latter two at least) were reflected in some sort of evaluation form created by committee members and/or their advisors and used for comparing books within each subject area.

Evaluations by STC members and advisors were "very thorough" according to one of the Ginn publishers involved in that reading adoption:

> [M]ost of them [had] evaluation forms that they [went] by. It's pretty comprehensive. . . . I thought [that that] committee, as a whole, was a pretty strong group of people, particularly the reading people . . .

> They knew a lot about the reading field *per se* and they'd had a lot of experience in evaluating books and that kind of thing. (Tape no. 42)

A divergent view of the very same group was offered by one of those who protested Ginn's basal reading series. During our interview, she was asked to comment on the textbook committee's evaluations of the readers:

> I don't think they'd ever seen them. The majority of them hadn't even looked at them. They had a committee under them . . . and they take [that committee's word about the books]. (Tape no. 49)

If the survey interview data are a fair and representative sample, they leave no doubt that the committee members and their advisors did indeed look at the books. Those whom I interviewed appeared to have had a very good idea of what it was they were looking for in textbooks. They used the proclamations whenever possible to remove books in an effort to shorten their lists and otherwise paid close attention to the books' format and "teachability."

Texas Education Agency Personnel

Between September 8, when the textbook committee compiled its lists of selected books, and October 24, when the Commissioner sent his official notices of changes, corrections and deletions to key participants, TEA staff involved with the 1980 adoption pored through mounds of textbooks. Those in the reading department reviewed five series and two alternate series -- more than 150 books in all.[5] In addition to cost (which was seldom a concern), staff members found themselves looking for editorial errors and errors of fact or omission. One former State Board member expressed dismay with the number of such editorial errors found in textbooks:

> [T]here was *never* a textbook adoption that there were not gross errors as far as the accuracy of the content was concerned and as far as the vocabulary, as far as appropriate and complete sentences -- there were many kinds of things in the content. Quite frankly, the publishers had not done a real good job of editing the books.
> (Tape no. 29)

In addition to editorial decisions, Agency staff also found themselves making "judgement calls" with regard to protested content.

The primary textbook evaluation criterion used by those at the Texas Education Agency was the proclamation. They used this document to determine whether or not the proclamation had been violated in each of the cases claimed by petitioners. (One petitioner from that year believed that interpreting proclamation violations was the "buck" that had been passed to the TEA staff by the textbook committee [Tape no. 49].) Guided by petitioner input, in other words, staff made judgement calls regarding each protest, requesting changes or deletions based upon their interpretation of the proclamation, a procedure called for in the adoption schedule itself (see Appendix Q, September 8):

> The Commissioner of Education in his consideration of books listed by the State Textbook Committee which have been protested shall give full consideration to the petitioners' Bills of Particulars, the publishers' Answers, and the record of the Commissioner's hearings. (Texas Education Agency, March, 1980, p. 71)

Dr. Celestia Davis, the Agency worker most responsible for the basal reading adoption that year, describes this "very tedious task" below:

> What we do is take the books and take *all* the protests that have come in and run every protest down. . . . We put a paper clip in each page and write *on that page* what the protester said. Then we make a decision: Was it justified according to the proclamation? By *law,* we can't change *anything* except what the proclamation stated, so we have to make a decision: Does it violate the proclamation? If it doesn't . . ., then we don't ask for it to be even considered any more. We do leave the paper clip there and we do leave what the protester said, and we do put a little note on what our decision was so that at any time during the life of that adoption . . ., our decision is on that page. . . .It's the only way you can keep [an] account of what your decision was and why you didn't make the change -- why you didn't ask the Commissioner to make the change.
>
> [W]e write down everything. . . . what page number and what line if the change has to be made and why it had to be made. If it's a typographical error you don't have to explain that, or . . . a word left

out. (Tape no. 30)

Two examples of such judgement calls offered by Davis (and not necessarily connected with this basal reading adoption) are helpful to understand the process. The National Organization for Women (NOW) typically claims that textbooks promote sex-role stereotypes. One specific protest involved a word "pattern play" (not a story) in which *mom* was making jelly, a task that NOW suggested could be done by *Tom*. A decision was made at the Agency to have the publisher change mom to Tom. "You look at both sides and make a judgement" Davis explained. Another frequent allegation made by the Gablers is that it is an "invasion of their privacy" to ask students what they think about some situation presented in a story or a lesson. If a particular question could be seen as resulting in an "embarrassing situation," for example, it would be in violation of the proclamation and the staff member would recommend that it be deleted. In these cases, Davis asked: "Is it really fair to ask children that question? It's where your professional judgement comes in" (Tape no. 30).

At times, those judgement calls seemed impossible to make. One protester had had an optometrist testify that a reading series written by Bill Martin -- which had words, sentences, poems, and stories printed horzontally, vertically, some reading from right to left, some printed in a circular configuration, etc. -- was bad for students' eyes. The Commissioner held a "show cause" hearing and asked the publisher to provide evidence to refute the optometrist's charges. The publisher did so convincingly, and the books were not removed. "If you feel like it's a little more than you want to tackle, then you can get help" Davis assured me. The point was that TEA staffers were entrusted with the power to make such decisions and they had to be willing to stand behind them to the fullest.

Thus far, I have made it appear as though the TEA staff, not the Commissioner, made those decisions pertaining to the interpretation of the proclamation. Dr. Davis assured me that this was not always the case:

> [The Commissioner] will change [our decisions] if he wants to, because we're just his helping hand. It's his decision whether or not we've been fair with the materials [and] with the protesters, whether we've made the right judgements or not. He has the right to say that. And sometimes [the Commissioner would] say "Well, I think you're being unfair." (Tape no. 30)

The Commissioner, of course, did have the final say in such matters, but the attention he chose to pay to them had a lot to do with the respect and trust he had in his staff. Alton Bowen, the Commissioner responsible for the 1980 textbook adoption, readily accepted his staff's recommendations regarding textbook changes and/or deletions with few exceptions:

> [T]he staff was advisory. Usually, if the staff had given careful attention [to the books], and you had confidence in the staff and their ability to make good judgements regarding materials, you *seldom* overrode their recommendations. I don't recall a time. (Tape no. 43)

Data presented above indicate that those at the TEA responsible for evaluating 1980 basal readers were concerned, for the most part, with whether or not books or parts of books were in violation of the proclamation *as petitioners had alleged*. The bulk of their decisions were judgement calls based upon the way in which staff and the Commissioner interpreted the proclamation. At times, Agency personnel found material plainly in violation of the proclamation which had been "missed" by the State Textbook Committee. Commissioner Bowen believed that the compelling reason for this was the way in which books had been presented to the committee members by publishers. Recalling a meeting with publishers, he remembered explaining to them how he would interpret the proclamation's general content provision 1.7 concerning "blatantly offensive language":

> Commissioner: There are all kinds of ways that you can approach the material with language. Now your college professor who lives in an ivory tower who *wrote* the [expletive deleted] book in isolation . . ., if they want to use words that I wouldn't bring home to my children . . ., then I'm going to vote against this [expletive deleted] book [bangs his desk]! Simple as that.
>
> Interviewer: And you're talking now [about such language] even in literary selections that are placed in books?
>
> Commissioner: Not necessarily -- if they're quoting. There are certain literary selections that I couldn't permit in a captive audience

> in schools: *Catcher in the Rye, God's Little Acre*, . . . It may be good literature, but it's got a lot of filth in it. (Tape no. 43)

In short, it was how the proclamations were understood and interpreted by Agency personnel that guided textbook evaluations during this phase of the selection procedure.

Notice of the Commissioner's textbook decisions was officially given to the State Board on October 24, 1980, thirteen days before the board was to hold its own textbook hearing. A large, two-volume set of pertinent Bills of Particulars and publishers' Answers (Texas Education Agency, 1980, November) accompanied the five volumes of textbook hearing testimony (Texas Education Agency, 1980, August) provided to each board member.

State Board of Education Members

Ten of seventeen former board members responding to my survey (59%) were typically aware of those books about to be adopted prior to their own textbook hearing; the remaining seven (41%) waited until that time to become aware of the books. All of the 1980 textbooks were available to board members and the general public for more than six months prior to formal adoption in the Regional Education Service Centers, and some board members took advantage of the books' availability:

> We were entitled to go up and check-out the books at the Service Center and look at them . . . even before we ever heard *anybody*. I did

> that on some of the books [but] I didn't have enough time to review all of the books. I did check some books that I might have been interested in, like a biology book or a math book. That would be long before I ever heard *anybody's* report. . . . A lot of the other board members did the same thing. I don't know whether all of them did or not, but I know that some of them did. (Tape no. 36)

Another former SBE member guaranteed me that knowing all of the previous textbook decisions (e.g., those of the STC and the Commissioner) leading up to formal adoption made the board "a part of the process all the way," reminding me that:

> The books were available to us . . . in the Regional Service Centers to check-out to read if we wanted to throughout the entire 7-9 month process. (Tape no. 29)

However, these Centers held every textbook bid by each publisher in all subject areas. The probability alone (i.e., only five of twelve basal reading series, for example, would be selected by the STC) raised the likelihood that board members would at least wait for the textbook committee's initial selections, allowing almost two full months in which to do reviews of their own. One interviewee maintained that he waited to receive word of whether any books had been removed by the Commissioner before beginning his reviews (Tape no. 18).

Unlike previous decisionmakers, board members as a whole did not thoroughly review each textbook. When asked to describe their typical degree of awareness of the textbooks to be adopted, one respondent claimed to have personally looked at each textbook, and another personally looked at most of them. Seven respondents (41%) said that they personally looked at some of the books. Two members had advisors review each textbook, two others' advisors looked at most of the books, and four members (24%) had advisors look at some of the books. The majority of the board (65%) had an awareness of some of the books to be adopted.

"Teachers" was the classification checked by each board member who used advisors and "subject specialists" was checked by more than half (members could make multiple selections). One member described his reliance on subject specialists within his congressional district:

> I'm not an educator [and] I've never been an educator. I lean on some of these folks who, in my opinion, are knowledgeable [and in] whom I've got a great deal of respect and confidence. . . . I leaned on them quite frequently for advice and assistance [in learning] that this is a good book and this is why it's a good book, or this area should be eliminated and so forth. . . . I got quite friendly with some extremely knowledgeable people because they appreciated the opportunity to help. . . . [These were] subject specialists. I got introduced to them probably through the superintendents. (Tape no. 33)

This board member did not use TEA personnel and/or current textbook committee members as advisors, preferring other knowledgeable educators in whom he had much "respect and confidence." In the passage that follows, another member intimates why he sought opinions from educators who had not been a part of the STC or TEA textbook decisions:

> I didn't have time to look at all those [books], nor did I have time . . . or expertise to look at the readability of the technical books . . . I wouldn't feed [my advisors] the petitioners' complaints and say, "What do you think about this?" I'd have them look it over and say, "Look at this from the standpoint of . . . content [and] organization" or whatever it happened to be. (Tape no. 18)

These data suggest that, in addition to the lack of time and technical expertise board members had available for textbook evaluation and review, advisors other than TEA staff and STC members were used by some in an effort to gain an opinion which had not been colored by petitioners' input. Although the majority of board respondents used advisors and all of those used subject specialists and/or teachers, it is impossible to know how many purposefully chose not to use TEA personnel or members from a given year's textbook committee as advisors.

Board members were also asked to indicate the criteria they or their advisors used when evaluating textbooks. The three criteria listed as most important by respondents were "adherence to the proclamation" (88%), "pedagogical strength (the best "tool" for the job)" (59%), and "organization and presentation of content" (53%). Several members described how the proclamations were used:

SBE Member 1: The textbook proclamation lays-out the specifications and the framework of the call for textbooks. If the State Board and the Texas Education Agency and the publishers all, with due integrity, abide by what the proclamation calls for, the proclamation *itself* can make the determination as to the content of the textbooks -- not only philosophically, but technically as well. . . .
One of the problems that arose in the process was that, to write a proclamation in a very objective fashion was very difficult. What you ended up . . . with, no matter how hard you tried to do that, were things that were determined by your own subjective judgement or someone else's subjective judgement. (Tape no. 29)

SBE Member 2: We wanted to see if the textbooks submitted did follow the guidelines in the proclamation. . . . What we do when we look at it and it doesn't meet our guidelines [is] ask that certain corrections be made [or] deletions be made. . . . Then the book pretty generally meets the guidelines. . . . No radical changes. No basic change; just some things that we could object to, like unusual stories, for instance, or unusual language. (Tape no. 36)

SBE Member 3: [We would] consider the kind of language that was used . . . It wasn't profanity, but . . . [books] were sometimes submitted with that sort of thing in it. There were quite a few instances of books that were presented that I thought had stories in it that did not support the position of the importance of the

> government and the family. Most of those generally got taken out. (Tape no. 18)

It is probably a safe assumption to view the board's recognition of the importance of organization and presentation of content and pedagogical strength (what I had considered to be concerns of professional educators) as arising from their belief that those were major criteria of at least the textbook committee. Additionally, the majority of board members used teachers and subject specialists as advisors and these advisors would have judged the books on professional criteria.

Six respondents (35%) chose "effectiveness (based upon student achievement)" as one of their three most important criteria for evaluation. It is difficult to speculate why they did so, and in order to gain some basis for such speculation, I asked two of the interviewees who had selected "effectiveness" to elaborate on their choice of this criterion. One gentleman told me that "effectiveness" was "strictly subjective" (Tape no. 18) and the other calmly said: "Well, I don't know how effective the textbook was based on achievement. I'll not comment on that because I'm not prepared to [do so] right now" (Tape no. 36). Perhaps they were ill-thought responses?

One final word on the criteria responses. Four members selected "professional reports, evaluations, . . ." as one of their most important criteria, and another four chose "other." Three of the "others" made reference to TEA and/or STC evaluations and decisions. If the four who selected "professional reports, evaluations, . . ." were referring to print and oral information provided to them by TEA and STC personnel (representatives of both decision groups attended the board's November 6 textbook hearing and the board's meeting the following day at which they discussed their textbook decisions), then a total of seven respondents (41%) would have been identifying information from previous decision groups as an important criterion in their textbook decisions.

A brief review indicates that 65% of the board respondents were typically aware of some of the textbooks being adopted, 18% claimed an awareness of most, and the remaining 17% said they were typically aware of every book they made decisions about. Nine members (53%) acknowledged using advisors to gain information about certain textbooks while the others insisted that they reviewed books personally. These data contradict the belief of one 1980 petitioner who commented on the state board's textbook reviews:

> I don't think the State Board members even *look* at the books. I think they only use what their advisory committee tells them. I don't think they ever read the books. How *could* they? (Tape no. 49)

Data are presented in the section on petitioner influence to support the contention that board members were indeed selective not only when it came to deciding which books to review, but which parts within books to examine. The petitioner cited above was probably correct in believing that neither board members nor their advisors read textbooks as they might have read novels.

A closing comment related to the board's textbook evaluations is offered in support of the belief that 1980 board members did pay critical attention to books they were responsible for adopting. It is a comparative view of the state board's reliance on TEA reviews during Commissioner Edgar's tenure and afterwards. It coincides with data and analyses made during part one of this chapter suggesting that the 1971 board relied heavily on textbook evaluations done by the STC and TEA personnel. I asked an Agency veteran whether or not the State Board members carefully reviewed textbooks:

> At first, I doubt if they did. They were pretty much depending on Mr. Edgar and his staff to go through the books after the textbook committee had made its selections. . . . We're not that close [nowadays] to the State Board of Education. . . . We attend the meetings when we're invited. . . . I assume [post-Edgar board members] would read some [textbooks], but I would not think they could read them all. (Tape no. 30)

In the section which follows I present data pertaining to the nature and extent of petitioner and publisher influence felt by each decision group. Petitioner influence will be presented first, followed by publisher influence.

Influence on Textbook Decisionmakers

Petitioner Influence

State Textbook Committee members. Data from the previous section reveal that State Textbook Committee members paid closest attention to three criteria when evaluating textbooks: "adherence to the proclamation," "organization and presentation of content," and pedagogical strength." It is reasonable to assume that petitioners, wishing to influence committee members, would have had a better chance at doing so had they formulated their textbook concerns, somehow, to address any and all of those criteria. Without the benefit of hindsight based on these data, and lacking the resources and expertise to critique the particularly professional aspects of books (e.g., pedagogical strength), we might expect that the thrust of their concerns would have been closely linked to how textbooks deviated from the proclamations.

Such may have been the case, but the perceptions of committee members reveal a much different petitioner focus. Respondents were asked to tell what they believed petitioners' major focus in evaluating textbooks. "Effectiveness (based on student achievement)" and "adherence to the proclamation" were each selected by only one respondent. Four others (36%) chose "organization and presentation of content," a troublesome response to interpret as I explained earlier. Discussions with interviewees had led me to believe that some respondents, at least, interpreted "organization and presentation of content" in this question to mean something more like "content included." In other words, a petitioner concerned with the inclusion of a story was not so much protesting the story's placement *vis a vis* skill development, its relevance to the particular lesson being presented, or the manner in which it was to be taught; the protest, simply put, was that the story in the book ought to be altered or removed for one reason or another. My fear that some respondents might have misinterpreted this criterion in selecting it was borne out during an interview with a textbook committee member who was asked why she had selected "organization and presentation of content" as the major focus of the 1980 petitioners. She answered that petitioners had focused on

> their own personal philosohpy or personal biases or personal strengths that they themself had . . . That's what *I* think. . . . Some of it just seemed ridiculous, but that's their right to do that. But such insignificant things . . . (Tape no. 28)

When asked for an example of an "insignificant thing," she told me how petitioners from NOW believed that ducks and cats pictured in early readers needed to be clearly presented as male or female -- apparently an interest, in this STC member's mind, related to "organization and presentation of content." It is uncertain how many respondents may have misinterpreted this response.

Five respondents (45%) selected "other," adding the following specifics: "serve self-ego" (survey no. 175); "specific to content, not necessarily germane" (survey no. 172); "organization philosophy or propaganda" (survey no. 176); "various biases" (survey no. 179); and "special interests" (survey no. 169). We can see from these comments that almost half the committee members saw petitioners as having an entirely different agenda than that of the STC, a recognition revealed in one member's comments about the textbook hearing itself:

> It was just boring as anything. The National Organization of Women [sic], the . . . Daughters of the Republic of Texas or something, they were there . . . [All of them] were talking about their own philosophy and not something that had anything to do with the dad-gummed books. (Tape no. 24)

Two petitioners who had filed "Bills" against the Ginn basal readers were asked how they had evaluated the books, what the general focus of their complaints had been, and whether they felt they had had any influence on members of the textbook committee. Like the protest of American Book Company's social studies series, each of the 1980 petitioners appeared to have protested only one or two of Ginn's readers. The rationale for this was simple: "If you can get one of his books kicked-out, then his whole series is shot" (Tape no. 49). Both petitioners read these books page-by-page and with a likeness of focus:

> I was concerned strictly with content, not on format or the pretty pictures or anything like that. [I was trying to determine] whether or not . . . children [should] read these stories or . . . have this particular book. (Tape no. 51)

This petitioner had not used the proclamations in her evaluation of the books but had, instead, organized her criticisms within categories such as occult, death and dying, and bad grammar. The major thrust of her criticisms was that poorly written stories and stories which lacked literary quality such as those found in the Ginn series had contributed to the decline in Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores and, because of their focus on contemporary living and lack of moral quality, were eroding the cultural traditions of the western world (Tape no. 51).

The second petitioner, too, concerned herself with the stories found in the Ginn books, claiming they lacked fact, contained poor grammar, and were not relevant to Texas' young people. She also found cause for cultural concern: "There's no good old days; it's all contemporary. There's no classics left in the textbooks hardly" (Tape no. 49). The essential difference between the two petitioners was that, while the former had not used the proclamation in her evaluations, the second petitioner carefully related most of her criticisms to items in the proclamation (e.g., a story about a young boy who steals money is said to violate general content provision 1.5 which states, in part, that textbook content "shall not include selections or works which encourage or condone . . . disregard for the law").

Interview data from these petitioners, in addition to their actual Bills of Particulars and testimony at the textbook hearings, leave little room for doubt that their primary evaluation focus was trained on the stories found in the readers and not the quality of the readers as such.

Seven STC respondents (64%) felt that petitioners had had no influence on any of their textbook decisions. "Not at all. Not at all. Not at all" one replied as we went over her responses during the interview. Later in the discussion, she offered a partial explanation for why protests had landed on deaf ears: "Most of those people have not *taught* first grade. That's not their role in life" (Tape no. 28).

Petitioners apparently did manage to have some influence on certain decisions made by the remaining four respondents and, according to each of them, this influence resulted from petitioners' oral testimony. Part of the reason for this unanimous agreement on the importance of the hearing compared with that of the Bills of Particulars may be due to the committee's not receiving the actual "Bills" and "Answers" (which consisted of thirteen volumes covering more than 3,100 pages) until the hearings began on August 11 (Texas Education Agency, 1980, p. xvi). As stated by one member:

> When we got the first batch [of the thirteen volumes of "Bills" and "Answers"], we were all interested to see if what we'd heard [during the hearings] and what we'd read were the same thing. And it seemed to be. After that, you didn't pay any attention to [the printed materials]. Why go through that stuff? You've heard it once.
> (Tape no. 24)

Another committee member, in discussing petitioner influence resulting from the hearings, told how the testimony helped her to use the Bills of Particulars:

> By that stage of the game, we had done *so* much work, *so* much

> evaluation, that our minds were pretty well made up as to what our top choices were going to be and what we found objectionable or what we really liked about the particular textbooks. But there was some influence there. I can really remember that when some particular points were brought up by the protest groups, they caught my attention and I would take those [Bills of Particulars] back to the room, take a look at them and look them up in the books, and see if it was something I agreed with or disagreed with. And if I had found something that I totally agreed with, it would have definitely made a difference in how I voted. And if it was something that was in a subject area that I was unfamiliar with, well of course, I would take it back to one of the advisors in that subject area and see what they thought. I was open-minded to what [petitioners] had to say [but] ultimately, it did not affect my voting choices in the end.
> (Tape no. 17)

Both petitioner respondents believed that their greatest impact, with respect to having an influence on Texas textbooks, would come at this initial decisionmaking phase. As one of the women explained:

> Your impact is basically with the textbook committee . . . If you can bring a bad enough case against a particular publisher's textbook, the committee members will be embarrassed to accept it. (Tape no. 51)

She answered my question of whether or not she had succeeded in influencing the committee by telling how she had spent much of her alloted time at the hearings on one particular series, "devastating his books." She continued:

> We did get that particular publisher out . . . They didn't see the light of day in Texas. So I think that just by having so much material and saying so many things and showing that their books were not any good, I think that did have some influence on it. (Tape no. 51)

The other petitioner believed that textbook decisionmakers paid little attention to petitioners in general and, while the petitioning process was important and "thrilling," petitioners may have been "spinning their wheels" with respect to their impact (Tape no. 49).

Commmissioner Bowen, having been on a STC once, himself, and having attended many textbook hearings as a Deputy Commissioner, was asked if he believed that petitioners had any influence on textbook committee members. "No. None . . ." was his reply, adding: "In fact, it might have been negative. They might have had some influence, but if it was, it was negative. . . . [STC] members didn't much cater to [petitioner input]" (Tape no. 43). Indeed, one 1980 textbook committee member called it just that -- negative influence:

> [Five days of hearings became] so much NOW and so much Gabler that it just became a negative influence. [Kelley Harelson, one of the Gablers' young apprentices, made some good points] but it was all

> ruined by droning on and on and on and on for days -- literally *days* ! And that's not fair. Number one, it's not fair for a professional committee to have to sit there; number two, the more they talked, the less you were inclined to even listen. (Tape no. 24)

Textbook Committee members' reports of the week-long hearings were no different from those offered by publishers and petitioners. One publisher called the 1980 hearings "lascerating," remembering: ". . . I sat through them all for [four or five days] -- it seems like a month . . . They just went on and on and on" (Tape no. 31). Ironically, perhaps, some of the same feelings were expressed by one petitioner who spoke at those hearings:

> Usually in the afternoon, everybody gets kind of tired and you can hardly think that anybody's listening to you because they've been listening all morning to a lot of drivel . . . A lot of it is not so much academic as it is just pure bias -- that they want more pictures of women or less of men -- it's just unbelievable! I would just go crazy if I had to sit there on the other side listening to it. (Tape no. 51)

While all basal reading series were protested in 1980, Ginn received fewer protests than at least half the other series bid. There is no way to know why a textbook is not listed by the STC, but I asked the Ginn publishers whether they believed the "protesters" deserved any credit for the outcome. Neither publisher believed that petitioner influence was a factor: "I don't believe our not making the list, or anyone's makng it, had anything to do that year with the protests. . . . There were other factors involved" (Tape no. 31). These "other factors" are discussed within the context of publisher influence.

To review briefly, survey, interview, and document data show that those who filed "Bills" against the Ginn basal reading series focused, by and large, on the content of the stories found in one or two of the series' books. Some petitioners attempted to connect protests to specific items in the proclamation and others did not. If we can presume that more of the textbook committee members who said that petitioners were primarily concerned with "organization and presentation of content" had misinterpreted that selection to mean something like "inclusion of particular content" (and we know that at least one did), we would find an even greater majority of STC member respondents recognizing that petitioners' textbook concerns were something other than those held by themselves. Due, perhaps in large part to this realization, nearly sixty-five percent of those responding were not influenced by textbook petitioners. Of those whose decisions concerning certain books had been somewhat influenced, interview data indicate that some of this was the petitioners' ability to illustrate problems the committee member may not have considered beforehand. According to information provided by another member, the influence was unquestionably negative, that is, problems presented by petitioners were consciously not investigated. All who claimed to have been influenced by petitioners attributed this to the textbook hearings. The petitioners were mixed regarding whether they felt they had been influential with the STC, but neither Ginn publisher believed that the protests had anything to do with their basal reading series not being listed.

Petitioners realized that the textbook committee is but one decision group operating within the textbook procedure; they could also hope to be influential with the Commissioner and/or the State Board -- both having had the power to remove textbooks. In the following section the question of whether or not the decisions of Agency personnel were influenced by petitioners will be explored.

Texas Education Agency personnel. The strongest routine influence petitioners had on those at the Agency was, without question, the use of their Bills of Particulars as a "textbook review guide" by TEA staff. We have seen from the previous section on evaluation that, in 1980, the reading staff used petitioners' "Bills" as just that; it was the petitioners, then, who defined the issues, raised the questions, and presented arguments. Publishers, in their "Answers," provided the opposition view, and Agency staff were left to pass judgement. While this in no way suggests that petitioners influenced Agency judgements, it leaves no doubt that their charges were, at least, catalytic.

Some evidence available enables us to gauge petitioner influence on Agency textbook decisions. By looking at the Commissioner's suggested changes for the adopted basal reading series (Texas Education Agency, 1980a) and comparing them with basal reader protests (Texas Education Agency, 1980, November, Vol. 1), we can formulate an idea about how changes related to those advocated by petitioners. The record reveals that petitioners' protests fell overwhelmingly into a category that I will call "problems with content" (e.g., petitioner dissatisfaction with particular stories, aspects of stories such as characters or language, or possible interpretations of stories). As explained earlier, Agency personnel reviewed each protest, and judged the validity of these protests against the wording of the proclamation. In addition to this sort of review, Agency staff were also mindful of editorial flaws in the books. We can speculate, then, that requests for sentence deletions or story replacements were as likely as not to have resulted from protests deemed "legitimate" by Agency staff.

An examination of the *1980 Textbook Adoption Changes and Corrections Requested of Publishers* (Texas Education Agency, 1980a) reveals that, of the basal reading series selected (comprising a total of more than 110 different books), 95 editorial changes (e.g., "correct spelling," "add comma," "add 'not' to the list") and 4 content changes (three selection replacements and one deleted sentence) were requested. Assuming this is a valid indicator of petitioner influence on Agency decisions, the conclusion is unavoidable that petitioner influence was minimal at best.

One of the Ginn publishers commented about the comparatively small number of content changes coming not only from the Agency, but from the State Board as well:

> I . . . believe -- and I think it's been desirable, I should say -- that, beginning about the time of [this] reading [adoption] and hopefully

> continuing, . . . there've been far fewer attempts, on the part of the state agency and the State Board, to ask for changes; that is, they have accepted [textbooks] as they were submitted and one has not had to cope, extensively, with requests . . . to make this change and that change and so forth, which has created, in the past, a Texas Edition. (Tape no. 31)

Similar feelings were expressed by Dr. Leroy Psencik, Director of Curriculum Development at the Agency, who remarked, as I was examining the requested changes, that all the 1980 adopted basal readers were "very clean books." His assertion appears correct inasmuch as, on average, fewer than one change per book was requested and only four of those alterations necessitated the deletion or replacement of content.

Some of the apparent "content cleanliness," however, may be attributed to the other area in which petitioners have succeeded in influencing Agency personnel -- the specific wording of the proclamation, itself. This phenomenon was freely discussed by many informants. The following are representative examples of how petitioner influence is perceived:

> SBE Member: I think the proclamations were colored by the protesters. If you had a whole seige of protesters in one year on one particular subject, . . . the proclamations, the next [time it was prepared], in order to not have so many of those protests, were colored in the

> direction of eliminating that -- being more specific about that [area of protest]. (Tape no. 18)

> Celestia Davis: Through the years, you develop a sense of [what needs to be in the proclamations]. . . . I remember the first year [sex bias was an area of petitioner concern], we thought, well, why haven't we been looking at the girls? Why did someone have to tell us to start looking at the way litle girls are treated in stories and that kind of thing? And then the next thing you knew, you begin to look to see how the books treat the elderly, or how they talk about the law enforcement in communities, and all kinds of things, until finally, it becomes kind of an over-riding thing and . . . you don't have to worry about any individual proclamation . . . *All* of those [issues] impinge on the proclamation as much as the content of your subject area . . . (Tape no. 30)

The 1980 proclamation (see Appendix R) reflects many examples of such petitioner influence. Requirements for one of the more talked-about textbook content issues, evolutionary theory, are worded carefully in section 1.3 [1-3] and even more detail is offered regarding the presentation of life styles, groups, and individuals *vis a vis* ethnicity, gender, and careers found in section 1.9 [1-5]. Recognition of such issues as these raised earlier by petitioners merely resulted in Agency adjustments to the proclamation wording -- very *careful* adjustments in an attempt to reduce the breadth of interpretation possible. Celestia

Davis recognizes the importance of the wording in a proclamation and the grief caused by ambiguous or less than precise choice of words:

> Any time you think you've been misunderstood, you remember that forever. You remember it *forever!* Sometimes those words come back to haunt you, especially if people in the book community begin to toss them around and they have different kinds of materials and they'll all interpret [the proclamation] to their advantage.
> (Tape no. 30)

The point made is that annual decisionmakers within the Texas textbook system have credited petitioners with having had influence on the wording of proclamations. To the extent that specific proclamation wording, prompted by petitioners, results in decisions for or against any one book or series, has been apparent. The extent of this influence, however, seems difficult to gauge except through narrowly directed inquiry.

Reviewing, the data indicate that petitioners have had at least three identifiable kinds of influence on Agency decisionmakers. First, their protests have been responsible for wording changes in future proclamations. In those cases, they will influence the way in which books are reviewed by all decisionmakers in the future. Second, their protests (written and oral) and the publishers' "Answers" are used by staff at the TEA to guide textbook evaluations. Here, petitioners have actually defined the issues about which staff must pass judgement. Third, in a small number of cases related to the 1980 basal readers adopted, requests were made for stories to be replaced and a sentence deleted. This may have been due to petitioners' successful arguments that were so convincing or dramatic that TEA staff were prompted to call for these content alterations. Overall, while it is plain to see that petitioner information was an important aspect of the textbook decisions made at the TEA, specific protests of the 1980 basal readers resulted in a very small number of content changes mandated by Agency staff.

State Board of Education members. Members of this group were asked to what extent they felt their textbook decisions had been typically influenced by petitioner information, both written and oral. One member (6%) claimed to have been influenced considerably by petitioners in his choice of each textbook (despite the fact that each year, some books are not protested). Three board members (18%) felt petitioners had influenced their choice of certain books considerably. One offered the following explanation, suggesting that it was the petitioners' oral testimony which caught his attention:

> They gave a lot of time to researching those books and pointing-out where they varied from what *they* thought. Now, they were not trying to tell us what to do, but just trying to tell us what the textbooks did. So, after they would make their report, then I might change my mind about a book. I'd go back and look at it because, when we got ready to adopt it, [we] had copies of all the books right in front of us on the desk. We could reach over and get it and look at it and see what it said. (Tape no. 36)

Five board members (29%) said that petitioners typically had no influence on any of their textbook decisions. Elaborating on this response, one member explained that this was due to the failure of petitioners to ground their protests in the proclamation:

> The people who protested textbooks . . . did not truly measure according to the proclamation; instead, they measured the textbooks against their own personal, political, and religious philosophies and biases. (Tape no. 29)

This former SBE member went on to offer examples of how this happened, how petitioners sometimes introduced their concern about something in a book (e.g., certain language violating the proclamation), yet inevitably wound-up relating this to some personal belief of their own (e.g., allowing this language would promote sexual promiscuity among teenagers). It was clear to this board member, at least, that petitioners "were using [the textbook selection and adoption system] as a stage to get a public forum to promote the kinds of things they apparently believed in" (Tape no. 29).

Eight respondents (47%) recognized that petitioners typically had some influence on their choices of certain books. Information provided by two of these respondents is indicative of how complicated the notion of petitioner influence can become. The first of these respondents assured me that the petitioners "serve a very real purpose" for textbook decisionmakers, and in the next breath, observed:

> But [their] biggest value is [as] an alarm to the publisher, and, of course, I specifically refer to the Gablers. The publishers pay attention to the Gablers, a lot more than the State Board did, because they know that the Gablers are going to study those books, they're going to publish their reports, and so forth. That's a very valuable service that these petitioners are performing. (Tape no. 33)

Although this did not answer my question (I had asked for examples of how petitioners might influence this member's textbook decisions), it did suggest that (1) members of the board paid less attention to books than did the Gablers and (2) members of the board paid less attention to the Gablers than did the publishers. I asked my question again and got the following response:

> [Petitioner information] affects my decisions because it may or may not concur with what my advisors have told me. . . . I'm prejudiced toward what my advisors have told me. Now, if a petitioner gets up and says something completely counter to that, then I become concerned and pay attention. (Tape no. 33)

We can see, again, reference to hearing testimony as the source of attention to petitioner information. This member apparently had little knowledge of petitioners' points of contention prior to the hearing.

Seventy-one percent of these members of the State Board of Education recognized one degree of petitioner influence or another, and the data suggest that this influence resulted from hearing testimony rather than Bills of Particular. Members had been supplied with two volumes of pertinent "Bills" and "Answers" prior to their November 6, 1980 textbook hearing, though it is questionable how many of the 1074 pages were actually read by those on the board. One member called them "a constraint," adding later in our interview that the requirement for filing and distributing the "Bills" and "Answers" was

> perfectly ridiculous. We would get two or three boxes . . . of that stuff [and] you know good and well nobody read them. The Agency would do summaries -- like executive summaries -- that, generally, we would read. You might thumb through some of the more controversial ones to see what they said. Mostly what happened is, after they paid 35 or 40 dollars postage on them . . ., we all threw them in the garbage can. That's what happened to them! (Tape no. 29)

This picture of board members who had (probably) not read the Bills of Particulars and who were occasionally brought to attention by something a petitioner said during the hearings was virtually identical to a description provided by one of the petitioners. She remembered once telling the board of a particularly offensive portion in one of the books and being asked where this offensive content was located. "I had to quote her the page," the petitioner told me; "she [the board member] had not even looked at my written Bills of Particular. She hadn't even *read* it, see? And there it was, right in front of her" (Tape no. 49). This petitioner went on to describe how the board received petitioner information: "Look, when we're sitting there speaking . . ., they're up walking around, drinking coffee, talking to each other; they're not listening to you" (Tape no. 49).

Assuming truth to this remembered event, we are left with the question of how better than seventy percent of the board members can recognize the influence petitioners have had on their decisions and yet not always have paid close attention to them during the textbook hearing. I believe this anomaly can be explained in at least three ways.

First, some board members who recognized petitioner influence quite likely were referring to the "selective attention" they or their advisors paid to those books being adopted, attention resulting from petitioner protests. We must remember that SBE members reviewed only certain books -- those which they were personally interested in and those which would "come up as very controversial" (Tape no. 33). Even members not typically influenced by petitioners were guided in their reading by petitioner information.

> The ones that I read were history books, civics books, government books, because I *knew* what we were going to get from the protesters because we'd heard it all before. And *I* wanted to know whether it said what they said it said. Of course, it never did; it never said what they said. (Tape no. 29)

Some members, then, may have been referring to petitioner influence as the power to direct board members or their advisors to specific books.

A second possibility is that board members may have been identifying a *negative* influence they felt which resulted from petitioner activities. One respondent had said on his questionnaire that his decisions regarding certain books were influenced somewhat by petitioner information. Introspectively, he elaborated:

> I don't know how you can make that kind of judgement about the degree to which you were influenced. I'm certain that I must have been influenced some, but I didn't feel in my own heart that I was influenced a great deal. The fact that a petitioner brought those things to my attention would cause me to take a position, but very frequently, it was in the opposite direction to a petitioner.
> (Tape no. 18)

Another possibility explains how such a large percentage of members could identify being influenced by petitioners while appearing so inattentive to them during the hearings. Perhaps some members had no awareness of or feelings toward a book but, instead, agreed with the position a petitioner had taken (e.g., that sex role stereotyping is wrong or that stories, like television shows, generally contain unnecessary violence). While this influence may not have been strong enough for a board member to decide for or against any single book, it is unquestionably a different sort of influence than those spoken of earlier. In addition, it is the sort which can be successfully realized outside of the formal vehicles of Bills of Particulars and textbook hearings.

The Commissioner of Education works closely with board members, close enough to understand this type of "personalized" petitioner influence. Commissioner Bowen assured me that there was "no question" as to whether members of the board were influenced by petitioners:

> [Board members] don't have *time* to read all those materials and study them. And here comes a protester that they *like*, and they have *confidence* in, and she says, or he says to the board member, "You know what's in that book? Thus-and-so." [pause] He [the board member] gets right on it. . . . An ordinary citizen, a protester, can [contact a board member] all she wants to. Or he. And they *do*! They *definitely* do. They've influenced board members, yes. No question about that. (Tape no. 43)

There is evidence from two board members which suggests that petitioners took advantage of this form of "external" lobbying. One respondent (Survey no. 287), who declined an interview, noted on his questionnaire that he used the Gablers as textbook advisors. This may have meant that their print materials and testimony at the board's hearing guided his textbook decisions, or, it may have meant that he was in contact with the Gablers, personally, regarding forthcoming textbook decisions. Information from several of the commissioners, petitioners, and board members themselves leads me to believe that the above member was likely referring to personal contacts.

Personal contacts between petitioners and board members were not uncommon and were in no way against any of the textbook adoption system's rules. Despite the information offered by one of the system's veteran petitioners that such contacts were rare (Tape no. 48), one of the 1980 petitioners did say that she had contacted board members "once," but preferred not to discuss it (Tape no. 49). According to one member of the board who had served for ten years, these personal contacts were an annual occurrence:

> We received letters, primarily from the protesters who came, on a regular basis. Some of them, particularly the Gablers, would call around and talk to everybody trying to influence their vote, [but] I really don't think it did. (Tape no. 29)

Without question, therefore, the potential for influence existed in these personal efforts by petitioners, but it was probably not typically significant in the final textbook voting. It may have had its greatest results in the board's recommendations which accompanied their votes for adoption. For example, the minutes of the 1980 board's textbook adoption session (Texas Education Agency, 1981, January, Appendix B) show that the board approved all of the commissioner's recommended books though, in several cases, with attached directives (e.g., remove a section on suicide from a sociology book, use stronger language about the use of marijuana in a psychology book). These directives reflected petitioner concerns expressed throughout the procedure and which had not been addressed in the commissioners' suggested changes. However, the extent to which their inclusion in the board's adoption votes was a direct result of petitioner influence remains impossible to determine. Both of the above examples (stronger emphasis on drug abuse and less on suicide) were apparently *board* concerns:

> There were some occasions when the board had put something very specific in the proclamation [such as a need for strong emphasis on drug abuse] and the publishers did not heed that and did not do it. And, although the protesters said they wanted it, the reason the board wanted it was because the board wanted it, not because the petitioners said, after the fact, that they wanted it. (Tape no. 29)

Evidence pertaining to the 1980 basal reading adoption indicates that some petitioners *did* manage to influence a State Board directive which could not be mistaken for something the board had wanted "before the fact." The board, in adopting each of the recommended basal reading series, included a directive to the Commissioner instructing him to investigate the availability of supplementary readers which "emphasize the intensive phonics approach to reading" (Texas Education Agency, 1981, January, Appendix B). This emphasis was not included in the wording of the description of content for the basal readers (see Appendix S) and cannot, therefore, be mistaken for something the board had wanted but the publishers had failed to provide. In fact, one of the series bid that year (published by The Economy Company) was perceived by most to be a series that utilized the "intensive phonics approach." This series was selected by the STC as its second alternate, which meant that, unless two of the five series selected were removed by the Commissioner or the board, it would not be available for sale in Texas (see note five).

The Gablers and Ms. Haralson (their "young apprentice," one STC member called her earlier) had protested each of the basal reading series bid *except the Economy series*, claiming, in their uniform cover page, that the teaching method employed in each series was "long discredited" and had caused "wide-spread illiteracy." Their decision not to protest the one series which did not employ what they called the "whole word sight reading method" appears to have served, in effect, as a tacit endorsement of the Economy series (Texas Education Agency, 1980c, Vols. 11, 9, 8, 7, & 6). However, the textbook committee did no better than to list the Economy readers as second alternate, and neither the Commissioner nor the board elected to remove any of the five primary series. Thus, the efforts of the Gablers appeared not to have been influential in this cause.

The proclamation had not specifically called for an "intensive phonics" series and the one available had not been selected. The 1980 board's decision to instruct the Commissioner to investigate the availability of such readers for a supplementary adoption is believed by at least four of the persons included in my pool of 1980 key participants to have been a *direct result* of petitioner influence successfully brought to bear on influential board members.[6]

We can see from the data presented here that more than seventy percent of the State Board respondents recognized petitioner influence on their textbook decisions. Since only one of four interviewees mentioned the possibility of negative influence, most petitioners, likely, when successful, influenced members toward their (petitioners) point of view. The data further suggest that petitioners' Bills of Particulars did not have nearly the impact on board members as did their appearance at the board's textbook hearing and, perhaps, as did their personal contacts (e.g., letters and telephone calls). The most successful form this influence took was, unquestionably, the petitioners' ability to "direct" board members toward certain, heavily contested books and/or specific content of books. In other cases, board members may have been aligned, philosophically or ideologically, with one petitioner or another, a situation which would have permitted them to more readily accept petitioner information as "suggested guidelines" for textbook voting. Strong generalizations do not arise from these data as to how this influence was manifest, yet we do know that a large majority of board members typically were influenced by petitioners and that they were not influenced, generally, by what petitioners had said in print. Regarding the 1980 basal reading adoption, the board voted to accept the Commissioner's recommendations (for the five series selected by the textbook committee) without recorded incident (no votes against and no abstentions). However, they did direct the Commissioner to investigate the availability of "intensive phonics" readers to be offered in a supplementary adoption. Several interviewees have assured me that this action was a result of petitioner influence on influential board members.

Publishers, too, have an interest in the textbook decisions made in Texas, and are the other group with formal access to each decision group. In the section which follows, data regarding publishers' influence on each of these groups will be presented.

Publisher Influence

State Textbook Committee members. We saw earlier that textbook committee members looked most carefully at how well the books met the proclamation, how their content was organized and presented, and whether or not they were seen as pedagogically strong. As it turns out, these were the very criteria selected by textbook committee members when asked to identify the publishers' major selling points: two (18%) chose "pedagogical strength," three (27%) selected "adherence to the proclamation," and six (55%) believed that publishers stressed their books' "organization and presentation of content." In the words of one STC member:

> Of course, their *major* focus is on selling the books, and they are super-duper sales people. They have to sell the books. But, without exception -- well, no, there were two or three exceptions . . . -- they knew exactly what the content was, exactly how it was being presented, [and] exactly how it was following the [proclamation]. (Tape no. 28)

Another committee member explained why publishers didn't "stress" the proclamations but focused, instead, on the differences between the way their books were organized and the way their competitors' books were organized:

> The way that I think that all the companies handled it was to merely have a handout to cover the adherence to the proclamation. The proclamation was stated line-by-line and the publishers had their written response to each point. So, that was something that really did not need to be covered in a presentation because it was there in black and white if you needed to really look at it, which we did. But I felt like the publishers' presentations, themselves, dealt more with what was in the program, how it was presented, and probably how the program differed in presentation of material from the other publishing companies. (Tape no. 17)

These data indicate that publishers, unlike petitioners, were addressing the very same criteria thought most important by committee members. Oddly enough, sixty-four percent of the textbook committee respondents reported that publishers had no influence on any of their textbook decisions. As one respondent explained:

> We wanted to form our opinions and judge the books and rank them before we ever had a salesman come to see us. And that's what we did. . . . We knew exactly where each series was the strongest, where each series was the weakest, [and] where a series was totally inacceptable [sic]. (Tape no. 28)

One gets the impression from this member that it would have made no difference whether or not publishers had even taken part in the process. Another member, who claimed no publisher influence, spoke about publishers bringing in important New York authors and "pulling out all the stops." Most publishers were very helpful in providing information, yet, when I asked whether textbook decisions would have been the same without any publisher information provided, the response was "Yes. No question about it" (Tape no. 24).

One respondent, a reading teacher, felt that publishers had had some influence on each of her textbook choices, and three (27%) answered that publishers had some influence on certain of their selections. When asked to explain that response, one interviewee noted that "sometimes [publishers] were able to bring out some points about their programs that perhaps we hadn't caught" (Tape no. 17). Of those four members who recognized publisher influence, three were influenced by publishers' formal, "Round Robin" presentations, and one was influenced through informal meetings with publishers. She assured me that this had nothing to do with free meals and went on to describe how, when publishers had done their formal presentations, she and her advisors had not had time to review the books thoroughly and they didn't really know what to ask. She added that after a while, all of those formal presentations began sounding the same. As time passed, she and her advisors became better acquainted with the materials, and questions arose prompting them to contact publishers and ask them to return and discuss the books in question. "On the personal visits where they came back for a second or third follow-up visit . . ., that's where we got a lot of the more valuable information" (Tape no. 17).

Ginn publishers for the 1980 adoption of basal readers describe, below, the way in which the program's organization and presentation of content had been emphasized:

> Publisher 1: We emphasized the instructional cycle -- teaching, practicing, applying, revising -- and we placed a rather considerable stress on earlier phonics instruction but also emphasized comprehension. Those were some of the key things. (Tape no. 31)

> Publisher 2: Things that we were trying to stress were how the program helped the student to decode a word. . . . a decoding strategy. . . . [A]nother big issue at that time was . . . comprehension. . . . [H]ow early do you start teaching skills of comprehension? And [that] the program was one that students will want to read and one that will help them develop a life-long interest in reading. How does your content help [to] accomplish that objective?
> . . . We also had a fourth area which was reference and study skills. After we have taught kids *how* to read, then we teach them how to use reading to write reports, to develop outlines, things of that nature. (Tape no. 42)

These publishers were asked to discuss what textbook committee members might have meant when they said they had been influenced by publishers. As one observed:

> When you say influence, I get the impression that maybe entertaining

> could be a factor. And certainly a lot of that was done by all the companies in that particular adoption. But we tried to look at each place [where STC members came from] and look at each person, and we tried to decide who, in the district, or who among the advisors, is the one that we need to influence the most. Who will be the most vocal when they come to the table to sit down and finally pick five programs? (Tape no. 42)

This need to look "beyond" the STC, itself, was supported by the second Ginn publisher, who knew of instances in 1980 when textbook committee members sought advice from their district or regional reading consultants in addition to the advice they received from their advisory committees (Tape no. 31).

The comments from both Ginn publishers centered around the importance of presenting the right information to the right people. In some cases, this was very specific information comparing one series to another. This was probably the "influence" textbook committee members were referring to, according to one of the publishers, who added an additional insight:

> Publisher: What I think [STC members] mean [when they say they recognize publisher influence] is that, by repeated presentation, either in conference or in general meetings, features of the books that they may not otherwise have seen were presented to them. . . .
> Interviewer: So it's really just a matter of receiving information . . .

> Publisher: Well, I think that's what the committee members are talking about, yes. But I think indirectly, but they probably aren't talking about this, there are some committee members that may be longtime friends of some Texas book representatives . . . that they see otherwise. There are some administrators, I suppose, that have learned about one program rather than another and call this to the attention of committee members and so forth. It's information and it's a biased presentation, I suppose, of the information. (Tape no. 31)

Presenting the "right" information to decisionmakers became an important part of every textbook publisher's campaign, including the basal reading campaign: The challenge was to determine the "right" information. One of the Ginn publishers believed that some of the STC members used the proclamations to narrow the number of series: "Very succinctly, it's a matter of looking for ways to eliminate down to the final five" (Tape no. 42). Because of this practical marketing necessity, determination of those aspects of one's series which would become more critical than other aspects and to stress those, in a comparative way, over one's competitors was simply essential:

> Publisher: We expected to do very much better [than we did in the balloting], and I really expected that we would be listed. There is no question, in that campaign, that when it began in June, Ginn was one of the favored programs since it was one of the best selling every other place in the United States. And things happened during the

> course of the presentations in the summer until the time of decisionmaking that sapped our strength. It's a moot speculation what it [was], but I think one factor, very clearly, was that all of our competitors saw us as the number one competitor and every one of them, to the extent that they dealt with competitive things, were [playing our program down as they played theirs up.]
>
> Interviewer: . . . I didn't think that happened.
>
> Publisher: It happens in discreet ways regularly. It may not happen by name, but, if Ginn is selling an instructional cycle, and somebody else has a reading program that has a different kind of instructional cycle, they will talk about theirs not being like [ours] . . . The more you identify your features and the more those features are brought under fire [by your competitors], it can work negatively for you as well as positively. (Tape no. 31)

These data indicate that, while all textbook committee respondents believed that publishers stressed the very same things about textbooks that were most important to their evaluations, most (64%) committee respondents recalled that they had not been influenced by publishers. Most of those who admitted influence reported it having resulted from publishers' formal presentations. Several interviewees from the committee supported information provided by both Ginn publishers which suggests that this influence probably resulted from some very specific information which highlighted one company's product while casting shadows on another. Some data also suggest that, in the area of basal reading, there was a very strong influence potential for publishers whose programs had been successfully in place in Texas schools.

Texas Education Agency personnel. Publisher influence on those at the Agency involved with the 1980 basal reading adoption was no less an elusive topic than it was when presented in the 1971 case. Its nature, however, may be pieced together from data collected.

Ginn, like most major publishers, had a person representing its company whose job it was to maintain a working relationship with the Agency's curriculum personnel:

> [We] had a Texas sales manager whose role was to know the people in the Agency -- a liason with them. . . . We want to stay in touch with those curriculum people because the trends change and we have to be able to respond to them. . . . If you can determine early, that is, like a year or so before an adoption is going to be called, that when they do call it, they're going to be asking for this, that, or the other thing, then you can let your editorial people know whether they need to build that into your program. (Tape no. 42)

We know, then, that Ginn had someone responsible for a good working relationship with the TEA staff. We also know that many of the publishers were respected because of the way they conducted themselves *vis a vis* the Texas textbook selection and adoption procedure. "I enjoy the publishers," Commissioner Bowen told me. "I think they really wanted to satisfy the Texas market . . . I found [them] to be honest and above-board

. . . All-in-all, they're a fine group of men and women" (Tape no. 43). Two examples taken from available records reveal this respect to have been mutual. On the final day of hearings before the STC and Commissioner, a question was raised by one of the textbook committee members concerning a line in one of the stories in Ginn's fourth-grade reader. Ginn's representative, Robert Brister, could not speak directly to the appropriateness of that line because he was not familiar enough with the story from which it was taken. Grace Grimes, the Deputy Commissioner presiding over the hearings, then asked:

> Grimes: In the event that your text should be included on the recommended list, would your company consider editing these stories and removing statements that appear to be objectionable?
> Brister: We have always taken the position that we would be glad to negotiate changes requested by the Agency. Certainly.
> (Texas Education Agency, 1980, August, Vol. 5, p. 55)

Ginn, of course, never had the opportunity to negotiate. Those publishers who did, and could not agree to Agency changes, received a reciprocal form of the respect shown above. In the *Report of the Commissioner of Education on Textbooks* (Texas Education Agency, 1981, January, Appendix B, p. 12), the removal of Harper & Row's *Psychology Today and Tomorrow* is reported in the following manner by the Commissioner:

> I have removed the above named psychology book from the

> recommended list at the request of the publisher due to the fact that he was unable to make necessary changes required by the Texas Education Agency.
> This book is withdrawn without prejudice.

Both responses -- the publisher's willingness to negotiate and the commissioner's unprejudiced book removal -- stock responses as they probably were, nonetheless illustrate the air of mutual respect between the two groups.

Publishers were also viewed by Agency personnel as valuable resources and partners in the job of providing Texas with good textbooks. Publishers not only knew their own products, but they were very aware of the textbook field in general (i.e., what was new, what worked well, what was being developed, and so forth). Celestia Davis, the Agency reading specialist, saw publishers as an important part of the textbook procedure, beginning with the production of the proclamations themselves:

> So, pretty much, what we try and do in the proclamation here, is reflect what teachers say they need in their instructional program, because we view ourselves as working arm-in-arm with the public school and the publishers to bring about better instructional materials that teachers need. (Tape no. 30)

Even Commissioner Bowen recognized the valuable knowledge publishers could bring to those at the Agency:

> [They can be] the best sources of information [because they know the industry so well]. . . . They're a very intelligent group of people . . ., conscientious and dedicated and solid. (Tape no. 43)

These impressions suggest a reciprocal working relationship built on professional respect between publishers and those at the Agency. The record leaves no doubt that practically all publishers whose books were selected by the textbook committee were asked to make certain changes in their material. In the basal readers, most of these were of an editorial nature (i.e., grammar and punctuation changes), although four involved decisions to alter or replace material. What the record does not contain are those instances, if any, in which publishers successfully argued their case against such content alterations. They may not have occurred. On the other hand, had they, their advocates would appear to have had a much better chance at being "heard" by Agency personnel who respected their professional judgement. Even when publishers could not agree to such changes, it is safe to assume that they would do so in such a way that would not diminish the respect they enjoyed.

All of the above notwithstanding, no data exist to indicate that publishers have any direct influence on textbook decisions made at the Agency. We can see that, by not agreeing to make changes in their psychology book, Harper & Row left the Commissioner with no alternative but to remove its book from the list of those selected by the STC. However, since those negotiations were carried-on in private, there is no way of knowing whether or not publishers argued successfully against making other requested changes. We do know that Agency staff made decisions concerning all of the protests contained in the Bills of Particulars, and we can speculate that the detailed responses provided by publishers may have been influential in staff decisions not to alter certain protested content. Nevertheless, this is all speculation.

What we do know from the interview data is that publishers are seen, on the whole, as respected business persons who share a common goal with Agency personnel: getting the best textbooks into the Texas public schools. They are also seen as knowledgeable in the curriculum areas and, through their professional relationships with Agency staff, have provided information helpful in the shaping of proclamations. Their greatest influence with this group may have been through the coming together of all of these factors in the consciousness of the Agency personnel as they make their "judgement calls" regarding protested textbook content.

State Board of Education members. Members of the board were asked to what extent they were typically influenced by publishers in their textbook decisions. Five members (29%) recognized that some publisher influence, one with regard to each textbook, and four with regard to certain textbooks. One member explains below how, in some instances when his advisor's information had been different than what petitioners had said, a publisher's oral defense could become very valuable to his eventual textbook decision:

> I come to the meeting opinionated to some extent [as a result of my advisor's information]. And a petitioner disagrees with what my

> advisor has told me is proper phonics in a basal reader, for example. Therefore, I would be concerned with what that petitioner said. And along comes the publisher, and he confirms what my advisors have told me about phonics, for example. (Tape no. 33)

Cases where publishers' information resulted in influencing board decisions were the exception rather than the rule, however, for 12 respondents (71%) said that they were not typically influenced by publishers. One interviewee believed that board members were quite conscious of not allowing that to happen because of what was at stake: " They had no influence. They were [pause] we tried to avoid that as a board. We didn't want to be influenced by the publishers because there was forty to sixty million dollars involved" (Tape no. 36).

Certainly part of this absence of influence resulted from publishers' typical silence at board hearings:

> I thought they were very shy about making a very positive statement, and I felt almost always that if I had been in their position and felt that I was right [with regard to an issue being protested], that I'd sure have been in there fighting harder than they did. But, on the other hand, all they could do was defend. (Tape no. 18)

Several perspectives on this "publisher silence" during board hearings were offered by other board members:

SBE Member 1: We had no contact with them at all. In fact, I'll tell you what: I really don't think the publishers made any effort to [influence us] for several reasons. I think it would have backfired if they had. There were a lot of people on the board who felt like the publishers had had their say at it when they wrote the books and submitted them for adoption. They'd had their turn . . . to do their thing. (Tape no. 29)

SBE Member 2: Now, I did find that when the petitioners filed their objections . . ., that was given to the publishers. Then the publishers would make a reply . . . to the Commissioner. Now, when we'd get in a board meeting and get ready to adopt a book and the petitioners made their oral reports, we would always ask the textbook publisher for a reply. And almost invariably they'd say, "We stand on our written reply," and they'd leave it at that. They didn't orally answer. . . . Well, we had copies of those written replies, but gee, volumes to read. And I'll be frank with you: I never read them word for word.
Interviewer: So you think the fact that publishers didn't bother to speak might have hurt them in the long run?
SBE Member 2: Well, I don't know whether it hurt or not.
Interviewer: Well, . . . if you didn't read their responses, then you didn't know how they were answering these criticisms.
SBE Member 2: That's right. That's right. . . . I don't know why [they didn't speak]. (Tape no. 36)

During his interview, Commissioner Bowen noted the a cordial relationship between publishers and board members but believed that typically, the only time the two came in contact with each other was during the hearing before the board (Tape no. 43). I was puzzled, though, about why publishers so rarely spoke at textbook hearings and asked one of the Ginn men about this:

> I believe that over the years . . ., many publishers learned that they got into more difficulties, rather than fewer difficulties, in trying to respond to complaints -- *protests*-- that were manifestly ridiculous. Not all protests are, but there have, in the past, . . . been specific protests that you really couldn't answer. . . . We've *already* submitted extensive and very carefully written -- most of them -- answers . . . Those would take a long time and are very carefully done because there's always the chance that somebody might read them, although I've never been convinced they did. Except the protesters. . . . There isn't very much to say [at the hearings] that you haven't already said [in the written responses]. . . . There's just been a feeling, at least by [1980], that the traditional protesters -- Gabler particularly, and that group -- that what they were saying was well known, it had been replied to, and that one was more likely to make an unfavorable than a favorable inpression by saying anything more. (Tape no. 31)

We can see from these data that publishers seldom had much influence on textbook decisions made by the State Board, and in the one example provided when they did, it was as a result of their oral testimony at the board's hearing -- testimony that most publishers usually decided not to provide for one reason or another. Interview data suggest that members of the board had some conscious awareness of not wanting to be influenced; their textbook decisions were, in effect, purchasing decisions, and it would appear incorrect to allow the sellers to have recognizable influence on those who signed the purchase orders.

There were more oral data to indicate that the absence of influence was also due to an absence of oral information offered by publishers to State Board members at the textbook hearing. One reason for this was the belief commonly held by publishers that decisionmakers knew all of the arguments on both sides on a given issue, and that attempts orally to defend their books could do more harm than good.

Thus far, we have investigated how each 1980 decision group evaluated textbooks, and the nature and extent of influence, if any, on each of their decisions by the petitioners and the publishers. Data pertaining to several additional areas of importance to this study were also collected from participants in the 1980 basal reading adoption. These areas included selection of STC members or advisors, the decisionmaking styles of the two large decision groups (STC & SBE), and the general impressions of the system held by some of its former participants. These areas of interest are presented, respectively, in the sections which follow.

Serving as State Textbook Committee Members and Advisors

Appointment to the STC came from the Commissioner of Education who, with the help of his staff, constructed a committee that met the necessary legal guidelines (e.g., a majority of classroom teachers, no two from the same congressional district) and professional guidelines (members with expertise in each subject area receiving new textbooks). How the 1980 State Textbook Committee was selected is described below using excerpts from interviews with then Commissioner Bowen (Tape no. 43) and Celestia Davis, the TEA reading coordinator (Tape no. 30):

> Bowen: The committee was made up of experts . . . that corresponded with the materials that were being examined and selected. These textbook committee persons were people recommended to us [pause] by the staff and by others. Usually, we [received the names of] three or four people in each area . . . and we selected one. [Eventually, we] submitted those selections . . . to the State Board of Education for their final approval.

> Davis: [explaining how reading experts *used to be* typically identified] Sixty percent [of the STC members] had to be classroom teachers, and it's very difficult for us to know them *well*. . . enough to know what they could do in a situation where there was controversy. But, pretty much, we did a lot of accreditation in those days [before the 1980 committee was selected], and we would go, like twice in the fall, into schools to make accreditation visits. We would sit in classrooms and listen to teachers teach and we would have the opportunity to talk to teachers in their lounge or in the hall. Pretty much, we picked-up

those teachers that we witnessed in the classroom. We had so many opportunities at that time [to meet them]. [Also], we got them through our professional organization . . . [because] really, professional teachers belong to your professional organizations. In those kinds of meetings, you get to meet on an informal basis and talk to them and know that they have professional leadership qualities.

Bowen: [explaining who the "others" were who recommended STC members] Oh, superintendents of schools, people -- if we had English textbooks, let's say, up for adoption -- there were people who taught English who were [pause] good in their field and wanted to be helpful [who] would name . . . people that would be good to serve on the committee because they were outstanding teachers in the field of English. Usually, however, we took the recommendations of staff. The staff got its information from visiting schools, from evaluating classrooms, from evaluating teachers . . . They were pretty familiar with the outstanding people in the field.

Davis: [explaining how, in more recent years, their system of selecting reading specialists has come to differ from the one she described above] We have depended a *lot* of the times on good textbook committee members from our peers who work in colleges . . . to say, "Yes, we have a good teacher." You'd be surprised how many times we have these discussions about "Do you have a strong teacher in your class that you would recommend?" [We also receive

> recommendations] through . . . a lot of [curriculum] supervisors in big schools. We've *always* had help. We've always had help. And you keep files. You know, if we ran into a good teacher in a visit that we'd make to a school, we'd put their name down . . .

Commissioner Bowen described how he insisted that his curriculum staff present him with the names of many possible STC members:

> [The staff would] give me a list, but I told them never to give me . . . fifteen members; I wanted at least forty-five members. I wanted to have a *choice*. I wanted them all to be well-qualified, and I'd hoped that those recommending them had done their homework. If I had any reservations at all, I'd pick up the phone and call the superintendent of schools [and ask], "What about this gal?" [or] "What about this guy that's been nominated by my staff to be on the textbook committee? Tell me about them. Are they good subject-matter specialists? Are they conscientious and dedicated? Can we depend on them to do the homework that's required . . . which is hours upon hours of reading?" (Tape no. 43)

As Davis explained, there appear to have been equally important criteria for the non-administrative members of the committee in addition to their being dedicated and conscientious subject specialists:

> Davis: You see, it's not only important that a person on a committee

> for reading know how to judge reading books, but a person that represents reading on the State Textbook Committee has to organize their whole school to get advisors. So you have to have a little different kind of person than just a good teacher; they have to have some leadership qualities . . . And that got to be a tremendous responsibility to know those teachers that well. There are a lot of temptations for those teachers [who serve on the STC] . . . A naive person could have been persuaded by [pause] the environment . . . (Tape no. 30)

And while she was looking for qualities of leadership and maturity, Commissioner Bowen's additional criteria were quite different, as the following portion of our discussion indicates:

> Bowen: I took that assignment [of selecting STC members] quite seriously. . . . [W]ell, I'll tell you one thing [and] be brutally frank: I didn't want any bomb-throwers. You know what I mean?
>
> Interviewer: No, I don't.
>
> Bowen: I don't want somebody that's too far to the left or too far to the right. I wanted them to be middle-of-the-road [persons] that had good common sense and that believed in all the fine, basic, moral principles that are dear to us as citizens in America. No, if they were too far to the right or too far to the left, I would shy away from them.
>
> Interviewer: And those are literally questions you would ask a superintendent?

> Bowen: Oh, [absolutely]! I asked him, he's going to tell [me] because they knew me and I knew them. [I asked if] . . . [nominees] believed in things that we believed in, [because] *I'm* going to choose them, and I'm not going to get a bunch of radicals, nor am I going to get . . . people who are too far to the right. (Tape no. 43)

As was the case with Dr. Edgar in 1971, Commissioner Bowen selected the two superintendents for the textbook committee himself. Having served on a State Textbook Committee as a superintendent (an "enlightening experience," as he recalled), Bowen supported the need for these quality administrators to serve, as they typically did, as leaders of the group. He also acknowledged the influence potential they had as both educational leaders and chair and vice-chair of the textbook committee:

> Any administrator certainly had a lot of influence [on the STC] because usually, they were in charge of the committee itself . . . So I'd say the administrators carry some weight with the [textbook] committee . . . It's a matter of deferring to someone that's had a leadership position in education. (Tape no. 43)

From the perspectives of those at the Agency who were responsible for helping to put the 1980 STC together, we can see that most of the time, nominations came from the TEA staff. In those cases, staff either knew potential members personally or would contact others (e.g., university professors and district curriculum supervisors) to seek names for submission to the Commissioner. At other times, superintendents and subject specialists might be asked to submit recommendations directly to the Commissioner. The major professional criteria (i.e., criteria other than those pertaining to congressional districts, etc.) used in selecting the subject specialist (teachers and supervisors) STC members included expertise, successful professional experience, and a willingness and ability to commit the time needed to accomplish the work. In addition to these criteria, some combination of professional leadership, maturity, common sense, a middle-of-the-road approach to life, and a belief in "all the fine, basic, moral principles that are dear to us as American citizens" was important for all non-administrator appointees. The Commissioner selected the superintendents personally, looking for men to provide quality leadership to the textbook committee as a whole.

Members of the 1980 textbook committee were asked to indicate, on their survey, the reason why they were selected for membership. One wrote: "I complained about books in use in my teaching area" (Survey no. 175, item 4). All of the others (N=11) believed that they were selected because of their "experience and performance as an educator as well as my professional activities." Each of the three STC interviewees spoke of their recent professional contact with Agency personnel prior to their STC appointment as a possible factor in their having been selected.

Celestia Davis, five years after the fact, remembered each of the five reading experts who were a part of that committee (there were five because of the preponderance of readers being adopted that year), mentioning something about each of them which stood out in her mind (e.g., their training or their commendable work in revising reading curricula). Two of these women were classroom teachers and the others held administrative positions. As a group, they averaged better than 21 years of educational experience. These data all point to a group of reading experts, at least, who appear to have met the criteria of expertise and experience with little problem, and who were, no doubt, given passing marks in the other areas (e.g., maturity, common sense) as well.

The textbook committee was given its formal powers by the State Board of Education. Names of nominees were shared with the board member representing their congressional district, and board members were expected to concur with the commissioner's selection unless, as Commissioner Bowen disclosed, a board member found the STC member selected from her/his district to be "personally obnoxious" (Tape no. 43). The removal of a name from the committee was apparently such a rarity that none of the board members I spoke with could recall it ever having happened:

> The only reason . . . that I would have ever had for removing someone from the [textbook committee] is if I knew something about them that would make me question their honor or their integrity or their character in some way. And generally, these people were really the cream of the crop of master teachers from across the state. (Tape no. 29)

As the body who must formally appoint the STC, State Board members were asked to list the major criteria they believed were used to select textbook committee members. Eleven members (65%) focused their answers on experience and expertise. A representative response from this group would be: "(1)expertise in subject or discipline, (2) classroom teaching experience, (3) personal dedication and commitment to the task, [and] (4) overall professional competence and ability" (Survey no. 275, item 12). While the remaining thirty-five percent of board respondents made mention of these criteria, they included others, such as awareness of minority needs, interest in developing good citizens, fast readers, sensitivity, and open-mindedness without radicalness. One member answered candidly: "This I could never find out" (Survey no. 273, item 12).

STC members must surely have taken these appointments as something of an honor, a feeling plainly expressed by one interviewee (Tape no. 17). There were also intimations made by two committee members that there were rewards related to service on the STC that went beyond those of professional recognition. One member told of people in her congressional district who "were dying to get on that committee" because of the attention they, and their school district, would receive from textbook publishers. "Once you've served on that textbook committee," she stated, "you can really get help for your schools [laughs], even though you're never going to serve on it again" (Tape no. 28).

Another member offered a similar impression, noting that the attention brought by publishers to small districts with STC members was "something special" (Tape no. 24). The third committee member I interviewed was subsequently offered a job by one of the textbook publishing houses (Tape no. 17). Given this, it seems that membership on the State Textbook Committee was understood to have brought with it certain career rewards for members and their school districts that made it something more than an honored appointment.

Of course, all textbook committee members found advisors to help them evaluate textbooks in their own subject areas as well as in those areas in which they had no professional expertise. Although the Agency counted 26 subject areas receiving new books in 1980, 18 of those were actually contained within the larger area of basal reading (the state counts each reading level as a subject area; there were 11 levels in the K-8 basal reading series and 6 in the K-3 bilingual reading series). Of the remaining nine subject areas, three were related to business courses and three were areas related to vocational courses (see Appendix R). The number of advisors used by STC members ranged from 19-76, with the average being 30.

Textbook committee members were asked to describe the criteria they used in selecting their advisors. Nine responses were given, most of which made central mention of the advisors' expertise. One respondent mentioned receiving recommendations from curriculum program directors (Survey no. 180, item 13), but a response representative of the lot would have to be: "Teachers who were knowledgeable and would commit the time for thorough evaluations" (Survey no. 170, item 13). During their interviews, committee members talked about selecting their advisors. Two of them personally selected each of their "main" advisors, allowing those persons to select others to help them evaluate textbooks. "I knew the top people" claimed one, who had been a teacher and administrator in the same district for many years (Tape no. 24). Another member described how, even in cases when she had to go outside of her district to find advisors with subject area expertise, she found people whom she knew.

> I was very careful to select people to help me . . ., you know, the advisors, that I knew would work on that and would help me . . . in areas that I knew nothing about [technical areas such as business law]. . . . In every instance, I was able to get somebody who was really an expert in the field. (Tape no. 28)

One member confessed that coming from a small district surrounded by equally small districts made it quite difficult to find subject experts in the technical areas like V.I.E. Drafting Trades or Business Management & Ownership. Consequently, she sought the help of school administrators, explaining that "I was, in some cases, desperate to find one person who had any knowledge of the subject area at *all*!" (Tape no. 17). She added that

> in some instances, I had to go, like, sixty miles away to find people who had any familiarity with those subject areas at all. In *those* situations, what I did was just call principals, supervisors, or superintendents and tell them what I was involved in and tell them the situation and that I needed people to help me out. They suggested people who I, then, in turn, got in touch with and asked them if they

would serve as advisors on my committee. (Tape no. 17)

These data suggest that advisors were selected primarily for their subject area expertise, with concern for their degree of experience and ability to commit the needed time and effort as important coincidental criteria. It appears that, when possible, STC members selected at least a main advisor who they knew personally for each subject area. When this was not possible, members sought names from administrators and curriculum supervisors. Of interest are responses provided by State Board members regarding the selection, by STC members, of their advisors. Nine respondents thought that advisor selection was in some way connected with, as one wrote, their "proven expertise in that area" (Survey no. 276, item 13). Five others suggested criteria that hinted at a more personal knowledge, an example being "expertise available locally" (Survey no. 286, item 13); three of those five used the word "friends." The remaining three board members, not surprisingly, perhaps, said they did not know what criteria were used by STC members in their search for advisors.

Decisionmakers as Representatives

The record shows that 460 advisors were used by textbook committee members during the 1980 textbook selection process (Texas Education Agency, 1980b, p. xviii). STC members presumably placed heavy emphasis on the knowledgeable information provided by these advisors in subject areas in which the committee members, themselves, had little or no background. Such advisors were, in effect, spokespersons for large numbers of teachers who could be seen as constituents of the textbook committee as a whole. In addition to that collection of subject-specific constituencies, each member of the committee represented her/his own subject or discipline. Through survey and interview data, we can gain some understanding of the degree to which ballots cast by members of the textbook committee were believed, by them, to be a fair representation of their own subject-area colleagues as well as the colleagues of the advisors representing other subject areas receiving textbooks.

Although it might be argued that members of the State Board were making entirely different sorts of decisions than those made by the STC (e.g., they were not making comparative judgements between books), there is no doubt that pedagogical criteria were important in their textbook reviews and evaluations (see section on SBE textbook evaluation). Slightly more than half (53%) of State Board members responding to the survey indicated that they enlisted the aid of teachers and subject specialists as advisors before making their textbook decisions. In those cases, board members -- to a much lesser extent than textbook committee members -- may be seen as representative of the professional advisors they used. Of course, each board member had an electorate constituency as well. Survey and interview data were collected in an attempt to determine the degree to which textbook decisions made by members of the SBE were representative of their textbook advisors and the voters in their congressional districts. These data will be presented in this section, beginning with the STC.

State Textbook Committee Members

Members of this decision group were asked, first, about their own area of specialization: how might their textbook evaluations and decisions have compared with those made by a randomly selected group of their Texas subject-area peers? Three respondents (27%) said that they did not know, and an equal number believed that their decisions would have been "somewhat different." One of the reading specialists on the committee explained why she believed that her decisions would have been "somewhat different": "To me, that's just logical. If you put a bunch of people in my subject area together, I think there [are] a lot of differences of opinion" (Tape no. 17). Of the five reading specialists' responses, two selected "somewhat different," two selected "don't know," and one selected "virtually identical."

Possibly, the selection of a complete, K-8 basal reading series had some rather unique peculiarities which may help to explain why these specialists responded as they did. Briefly, interviewees from the STC and the Agency told how reading teachers and supervisors tend to belong to "camps," including "intensive phonics" and "whole word" approaches to the teaching of reading. Much of the reason for this results from how one is trained or how one has been successfully teaching reading throughout her/his professional career. Those in one "camp" find it difficult to support and empathize with those in other "camps." This is analogous to professional race car drivers who prefer an overhead cam to a conventional engine design or fuel injection to conventional carburetion: all believe that what they prefer is what will give them the best advantage. So it is with reading teachers.

A second distinction appeared with this group of reading persons, however, and that is the loyalty of individuals to one particular series over all others. One reading specialist, who selected "don't know" for the question under discussion here, wrote: "I believe that some educators are loyal to some publishers and would select that book regardless of the criteria" (Survey no. 170, item 12). This loyalty is likely to result from the success teachers are having with a series, coupled with the considerable amount of supportive planning, design, and materials teachers build-up, over the years, to embellish the series itself. Part of this loyalty, too, is what the Ginn publisher was referring to earlier when discussing "product satisfaction." In his words:

> [S]chool districts that are satisfied with the product they are using in a major curriculum area [such as reading] . . ., and who are satisfied with the service from the company . . ., and who are getting good results from the teachers or from the students . . . are more than likely to at least consider, more favorably, new adoptions from the companies they've worked with . . . (Tape no. 31)

In other words, reading teachers who have spent five years working with one series and who are satisfied with the series and it's company's support services may find it difficult to compare it objectively with twelve other series. So, too, in automobile racing, where some drivers have been faithful to Ford or Datsun cars despite the myriad of other makes available.

This commentary illustrates the particular difficulty the reading specialists had in determining the extent to which their decisions might have been similar to a randomly selected group of their peers. Of those six respondents who were unsure of this random similarity, *four* were reading specialists.

The remaining five respondents (45%) believed that their STC work would have been virtually identical to that done by randomly selected groups of their peers. One interviewee was certain of that response because of the way the system was designed and because its decisionmakers were professionals.

> I feel like if [a randomly selected group from my subject area] had been given the same information that I was given, [their decisions would] be the same. I feel like, professionally, that's what we're supposed to do. (Tape no. 24)

Another offered a variation of the same reasoning.

> What [the state] really did was randomly select a group of teachers, so we have to assume that [our decisions] would be about like [any other randomly selected group]. (Tape no. 28)

These data suggest that, while many respondents believed that their decisions would have been virtually identical to randomly selected subject-area peer groups, the majority were less certain. Three believed their decisions would have been somewhat different and three others simply did not know how their decisions might compare with those made by others. Two-thirds of those who expressed uncertainty were reading specialists. Even so, their doubts were largely unfounded.

Two questions pertaining to advisors' textbook information were asked of STC members: In the first, members were asked to describe how their advisors reported their evaluation results. One member claimed to have received a prioritized list of books from each of her 19 advisors; another asked each advisory group to reach a concensus about the books (e.g., which were the best, which were the worst, and which were unacceptable) without prioritizing them; a third said that she asked her advisory groups to reach a consensus and present prioritized list, but to include all of their conflicts about each of the books on that list. She described her reasoning as follows:

> I remember having them prioritize their books because I thought [that], if it got down to a situation where we had to choose between one or the other being listed, it would be important to know which was stronger of the two or three or five or eight . . . on the ballot. But also, because I knew that there would be discussion *about* the books, I felt that it was important for [me] to be knowledgeable about the different books, especially in the areas I had no expertise in whatsoever. And so I asked [my advisors] to also give me some information [about] why they were supporting a book or why they

> didn't like a book, and to list those weaknesses so that I would at least be able to converse intelligently about those books if it got to the point where it was a crucial vote. (Tape no. 17)

Most members responding (73%), however, said that their advisors were asked to reach a concensus regarding the textbooks and present a prioritized list of their choices.

Armed with their advisors' information, the committee met in Austin on September 8, 1980, to cast their textbook selection ballots. STC respondents were asked to describe the extent to which they followed their advisors' recommendations when selecting books outside of their own area of expertise. Seven members (64%) said that they stayed with their advisors' recommendations in every case. One member noted that after having asked so many people to put so much work into these evaluations, "There wasn't any *way* I could go to Austin and vote differently -- even if I had wanted to. I had to come back and live with them!" (Tape no. 24). Nevertheless, one respondent who claimed to have followed advisor recommendations in every case wrote: "Didn't follow with a selection that had no chance of being adopted after the first ballot" (Survey no. 170, item 15). This leaves a question as to whether or not others used the same rationale in choosing this response.

The remaining four respondents (36%) said that they followed their advisors' recommendations in most cases or, as one respondent noted, "fairly closely" (Survey no. 169, item 15). This is understandable in light of the fact that, in some cases, as noted by the respondent above, first ballots indicated that certain advisors' choices had no chance for STC selection. Following the first ballot, members could discuss particular merits or demerits of books in an effort to steer the committee toward a concensus. The committee's subject expert(s) had much influence in those instances (Tape no. 24). During those discussions, members were forced to give serious consideration to the information provided by their advisors. This scenario was discussed by one interviewee whose advisors were followed in most cases:

> To my knowledge, I did not [vote differently on] *any* of the first books that they recommended. Maybe down, as we voted the second, third, or fourth [ballot]. . . . If you're going to stick to your list after the second ballot, and there's still a hang-up, then you better look at your book again. You better see what the deal is and *try* to do what's best for the kids of the state. (Tape no. 24)

Another respondent explained how this practice was planned and discussed beforehand with advisors:

> I would tell the advisors *before*, that I would always follow them *unless* there was absolutely no chance of their first choice being selected. And then I would go with another one, their second choice, possibly, rather than just keep voting for a choice that was never going to make it. (Tape no. 28)

All of these data seem to indicate that decisions made by the 1980 STC can be understood as having a reasonably strong degree of representational legitimacy not only with respect to their advisors' recommendations, but also regarding their subject-area colleagues. All respondents acknowledged following their advisors' recommendations in every or in most cases. And despite the uncertainty expressed by reading specialists regarding the way in which their ballots would have compared with a random sample of their peers, Tables 4 & 5 indicate that their own ballots were quite similar. When combined, these data provide a strong indication of the high degree of representational legitimacy between subject specialists serving on the STC and their professional colleagues in the same discipline.

The data also provide a basis upon which to determine the type of representational style reflected by STC members. Information gathered from the surveys and interviews, and the example of the ballots for basal reading series, suggest that members may have been almost evenly distributed between the politico and delegate styles of representation. Those who adopted the delegate style tended to follow the wishes of their advisors in spite of the balloting circumstances; those adopting the politico style used advisor input as well as the present circumstances any additional information they had to make decisions they felt would be the best.

We can see both of these styles reflected in the ballots cast by reading specialists shown in Tables 4 & 5. American Book and Scott Foresman received 8 and 9 votes, respectively, on the first ballot, and Holt received

7 ballots. Ginn was next with 5, Economy had 4, and so on. From the perspective of the committee as a whole, the number of first-ballot votes appears to have been an indication of which series to select on the next ballot, when both American and Scott Foresman received 10 votes and were listed.

Note, however, that specialists 3 and 4 had not voted for American's series on the first ballot as their reading colleagues had, yet they cast votes for American on the second ballot. In order to do so, they had to decide not to vote for the Scott Foresman book they had supported on the first ballot (and which was listed on the second). Note, further, that specialist number 2 changed her vote from Ginn to Scott. These are all examples of the politico style of representation.

The delegate style can be seen, in part, in the balloting of specialists 1, 3, 4, & 5. In each of their cases, at least one of their series, based upon the vote count from ballot number one, had a questionable chance of being listed, yet they stayed with those decisions. This is most strongly reflected in specialist 5's vote for the Economy series, which had received only four votes on the first ballot and just three on the second.

These examples are offered to depict the split in the two representative styles adopted by textbook committee members. Given the amount of advisor information in hand during the balloting, and given the responses from the surveys alone, the delegate style would seem to be the one most often reflected. However, survey and interview comments suggest that at least several of those who said they acted as delegates for their advisors did so on the first ballot only, after which they adopted the

Table 4

Basal Reading Votes Cast on the First Ballot by 1980 Reading Specialists

Specialist	1	2	3	4	5
Series					
Allyn & Bacon					
American Book	X	X			X
Economy					X
Ginn		X			
Harcourt *	X	X	X	X	
Harper & Row					
Holt	X		X	X	X
Houghton *	X	X	X	X	X
Laidlaw					
Macmillan *	X	X	X	X	X
Rand					
Santillana					
Scott Foresman			X	X	

Note.

1. Series marked with an asterisk (*) received ten or more votes and were listed after the first ballot.

Table 5

Basal Reading Votes Cast on the Second Ballot by 1980 Reading Specialists

Specialist	1	2	3	4	5
Series					
Allyn & Bacon					
American Book *	X	X	X	X	X
Economy					X
Ginn					
Harcourt	Listed Previously				
Harper & Row					
Holt	X		X	X	
Houghton	Listed Previously				
Laidlaw					
Macmillan	Listed Previously				
Rand					
Scott Foresman *		X			

Notes.

1. Series marked with an asterisk (*) were the only ones, in addition to the three which were listed, which received a majority of votes on the first ballot. Both were listed on the second ballot.
2. With the exception of some differences between the Holt and Scott Foresman series, decisions of these specialists were quite similar.

politico style.

State Board of Education Members

Similar types of data were collected from members of this decision group. Nine of the seventeen respondents used advisors in their textbook reviewing and evaluation, and of those, all reported having used teachers, and more than half also used subject-matter specialists.

Board members who had used advisors were asked to describe the extent to which advisor information typically influenced their textbook decisions. The responses were quite mixed, with three (33%) indicating some degree of influence on each of their textbok decisions and six (66%) indicating some degree of influence on their choices of certain books. Their interview data suggest that members sought the help of advisors (educators) in cases where books were especially technical and in cases in which books had been heavily contested. The following excerpts from two board members illustrate their use of advisors:

> Board Member 1: I'll tell you the truth of the matter: I never asked anybody to look at a book that didn't have considerable concern about it. I didn't have time to look at all those [books], nor did I have time . . . or the expertise to look at the credibility of the technical books . . . I wouldn't feed [my advisors] the petitioner's complaints and say, "What do you think about this?" I'd have them look it over and [I'd] say, "Look at this from the standpoint of . . . content [or] organization" or whatever it happened to be. . . . If they didn't speak to the issue

> that some of the petitioners had spoken to, then I'd ask them some questions about it that would kind of be more specific. [These advisor reports carried a certain degree of weight]. (Tape no. 18)

> Board Member 2: The people that I have talked with before all this show [the textbook hearing] started play a big influence in my opinions because I'm not an educator and I've got to take the advice of somebody. So, when I get the best advice, in my opinion I *can* get . . ., I have a great deal of confidence in what the people have told me because I . . . know them well and I know that they are competent. (Tape no. 33)

Five of those on the board who used advisors (55%) said they were influenced considerably by advisor information and another two said that their advisors influenced their decisions regarding *each* book somewhat. Given these responses, in addition to the interview data, it appears that board members were reasonably faithful to the recommendations they received from their advisors. Nevertheless, this does not indicate a clear choice of the delegate style of representation, for the responses were too spread-out to allow this claim. It may be safe to posit that, in the case of the most technical books (e.g., computer programming or animal husbandry), members of the board who used advisors may have adopted a delegate style and simply followed their advisors' recommendations; in other cases where books were less technical but more controversial, members may have sought advice from educators in order to give them a broader base from which to make a decision. This would be an example of the politico style.

Members of the board also had their constituencies to think of each time they adopted textbooks. I asked board members to describe the extent to which their textbook decisions were typically influenced by their constituents and, during their interviews, I asked the question differently, seeking to learn whether or not they believed their decisions were reflective of their constituencies.

Five respondents from the 1980 board (29%) recognized no constituent influence on their textbook decisions. When asked whether his decisions were, in his mind, reflective of his constituents as a whole, one of these five respondents claiming no influence said he did not know. He did, however, explain why he had answered the question as he did. It seems that members of this board received a good deal of mail around "textbook time" (this was mentioned by three board interviewees) from different groups and individuals urging them to vote one way or another on some particularly controversial textbook. As this member explained, these were generally form letters from people in his congressional district -- his constituents -- which, he wanted me to know, had had no influence on his textbook decisions:

> When I get a form letter from somebody [in my district], and usually you get a xerox letter and you get six of them just exactly the same, or ten or twelve on a real controversial issue, you get a lot of mail at textbook time and it's amazing how many are exactly the same and

> you don't give that [mail] the time of day. (Tape no. 33)

A comfortable majority of the respondents (71%), on the other hand, recognized some degree of constituent influence on their textbook choices. Two of these members claimed that they were aware of their constituents having some influence on each of their textbook decisions, while the remaining ten recognized influence on certain of their choices. From the interviews, I was led to believe that these members actually had some sense of representing their constituencies' wishes based upon feedback they received from their district's voters. One interviewee made clear the distinction between constituents trying to influence his decisions and constituents he felt he was representing in certain cases:

> The people that sent out form letters to everybody *didn't* influence my decision, but they *did* force me to go and look up the chapter and verse of their concern. That didn't influence me, it merely called my attention to the fact. I think that most of the time, I would be influenced away from what that position was. The only time I felt that I was *influenced* by my own constituents was when that was a specific person with a specific concern rather than a group effort. . . . And I either would agree with them or I'd say, "Look, I don't see it that way." (Tape no. 18)

Another board member who had answered "none" to the survey question regarding constituent influence, did so because "I didn't have any protesters in my congressional district." However, in the next sentence, an example was provided which indicates that this member was receiving constituent feedback which, according to our definition, could be interpreted as influence:

> [I]t was very interesting. You'd go someplace for dinner or something and somebody'd recognize you and they'd come over to the table and they'd say, "Hooray for you! Keep up the good work. I'm glad you said what you did about such-and-such on the textbooks." (Tape no. 29)

The majority of State Board members appears to have been influenced in some of their textbook decisions to an unknown degree by members of the general public residing in their congressional district. Interview data from four of them suggest that, in cases where they recognized this influence, they were reflecting the views and opinions of at least some of their constituents. These data show, in the case of certain textbooks (probably the more controversial ones), that board members saw themselves as making decisions which were both influenced by and representative of their constituents. This means that in those cases, they had adopted at least the politico style of representation and, perhaps, the delegate style. There is no way to measure or know for certain which style was most common, but it seems reasonable to believe that members would have preferred to take information and support from their constituents while reserving the right to make the decision that seemed best at the time. This would constitute a politico style of representation.

A re-examination of this section reveals that textbook decisions made by members of the 1980 textbook committee had a comfortable degree of representational legitimacy *vis a vis* their advisors' recommendations and similar decisions which might have been arrived at by randomly-selected groups of subject specialists in the areas receiving textbooks that year. Because the textbook hearings had been held two weeks before the voting took place, members had time to go over, with advisors, any new concerns arising from the textbook hearings and make any necessary alterations in their prioritized lists of textbooks. This scheduling may have also been a factor in the minimal amount of between-ballot discussion that members mentioned. Those on the STC took a good deal of information with them to Austin for the balloting and apparently acted as delegates of their advisors whenever possible. Nevertheless, when "voting their advisors" became hopeless (i.e., when it was clear that advisors' choices had no chance of being selected), STC members adopted the politico style, seeking additional information from the committee's expert in that subject area.

Those board members who used advisors (slightly more than half of the respondents) appear to have taken their recommendations quite seriously. Although there is no way to know the extent to which they "voted their advisors," their survey responses indicate that they paid much attention to advisor information, especially in the case of technical books. We can be almost certain that they did not simply ignore this information but carried it with them to Austin to be used as the board member saw fit. Thus we can suggest that those board members who did seek advisory information probably adopted a politico style, using that information to supplement their own best judgement under existing circumstances. There is no way to even speculate as to the degree to which those textbook decisions were legitimately representative of advisors' recommendations.

The same style appears to have been adopted with respect to the respondent board members' constituencies. The majority recognized voter influence, and most of those interviewed provided direct or indirect examples which allowed me to believe that they were making use of information and/or reflecting the beliefs and opinions of those within their congressional district. Again, there is no way to measure the extent to which a board member's textbook decisions reflect her/his constituency. Commissioner Bowen, however, believed it was minimal:

> They hear four or five voices and think the *world* is screaming. . . . They'd say, "I've had hundreds of contacts" [when] they might have had two calls. (Tape no. 43)

Regardless of the number of constituents with whom SBE members spoke, the majority of them did feel that the public had an effect on their textbook decisions, and interview data indicated that members believed they were representing at least some of their voters' views. Given this information, it is reasonably safe to say that the 1980 board adopted more of a politico than a trustee or delegate style of representation when making textbook decisions. Because of the adoption of the politico style (as opposed to the trustee style), board members who utilized constituent information or consciously measured constituent values and beliefs against their own arrived at textbook decisions which were more legitimately representative their voters than members using the trustee style of representation.

Literally hundreds of educators and non-educators had a hand in the selection and adoption of basal readers in 1980. I was interested to learn what these participants felt about the quality of the books they helped through the system and how they felt about the Texas system on the whole. In the following section, data are presented regarding the perceived quality of the books adopted and the system's strengths and weaknesses.

Participants' General Impressions of the Texas Textbook System

Procuring the Best Textbooks

Key participants in the 1980 selection and adoption were asked whether or not the best books had been adopted. All eleven of the STC respondents answered yes to this direct question. One of those interviewed remembers returning to her advisor groups, following the balloting in Austin, to discuss the lists of books adopted. By and large, as she recalls, each group felt good about the adopted books. As far as she and her advisors were concerned, those books adopted had the strongest formats, they were the most "teachable," and they represented a collection of books that "would meet the needs of children in a lot of different types of situations" (Tape no. 17). A second interviewee believed that the best books had been adopted, yes, but that that was no surprise given committee members and advisors who were the "best" and who typically gave 150% of their effort to the initial selection of those textbooks (Tape no. 28).

Fourteen of seventeen board members responded to the question about whether the state received the best textbooks with two answering "no" and twelve "yes." One of those who expressed doubts offered the following reasoning:

> When it comes right down to the question of what is best, I never looked at the books that got kicked-out before they came to me . . . I have a feeling that there was a lot of pretty good books that got kicked-out along the way, based upon some hue and cry that [made them] seem like . . . [un]wise choice[s] on the part of the Commissioner or somebody or other. And the best book is not necessarily the one that survives criticism. And I cannot come up with a solution to how [we can] do it better, but I just had to say to myself [in answering this question], I cannot see the system as definitely providing the best books. . . . It provides those that survive the [pause] that don't offend anybody. (Tape no. 18).

The vast majority of board members believed that the best books were provided, despite the fact that those who were interviewed had a difficult time explaining why. One member was convinced that better books could have been written but, since, they weren't, Texas got the best "based on what is available" (Tape no. 29). Another member, asked to elaborate on this belief that Texas received the best books, said only that "It's a good program; it's a fine adoption program . . . It works well and [we] get very good textbooks out of it and I'm very complimentary of it" (Tape no. 33).

Both Ginn publishers and Commissioner Bowen would agree, I believe, with the sentiments expressed by Celestia Davis, who not only originated the basal reading proclamation, but was largely responsible for overseeing the phase two reading textbook decisions. When asked whether she considered the adopted series the best of the twelve originally bid, she answered by stating that they were all good series. "There are just no bad readers," Dr. Davis asserted, adding that "[S]ome are more appropriate [for Texas students] than others" (Tape no. 30). Despite Ginn's nationwide popularity, members of the STC evidently came to believe that, in 1980, other series were more appropriate for Texas students.

All basal reading series bid in 1980 received petitioner criticism. The records of written and oral protests indicate that the series most heavily attacked (Houghton Mifflin) and the series least heavily attacked (Scott Foresman) were both adopted. I noted earlier that one of the Ginn "protesters" believed that the worst series of them all had not been selected, thanks, in part, to her own efforts. Both of the petitioners with whom I spoke were convinced that the all of the basal readers adopted in 1980 had major problems with them and could just not compare with readers of years past which had stronger moral content, better grammar, and real heroes. Both actually believed that textbooks -- bad textbooks -- are the cause of "bad kids." This was why neither petitioner had her own children in public schools at the time they took part in the Texas textbook selection and adoption procedure.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, I had expected members of the three decision groups to offer overwhelmingly positive response to the question regarding the best books, and the 1980 groups fulfilled this expectation. My intent in posing the question, actually, was to provide a springboard for trying to determine why participants held this belief; did they believe the system, itself, was responsible for the best books or that the best books were selected because of the people who participated, the thoroughness of the evaluations, etc? Two of the three STC members interviewed believed that Texas got the best books because textbook committee members and advisors were well-qualified, dedicated, and committed to selecting the best books. The other member believed they were the best books because of the diversity of books listed in each subject area.

Most on the board believed that these were the best books, also. Three of those interviewed gave responses which were vague, to say the least. Two of them seemed to be suggesting that Texas got the best books that it could get, one mentioning that there were none better (Tape no. 29) and the other mentioning that there were lots worse (Tape no. 36). The third response, quoted earlier (Tape no. 33), indicates an almost magical belief in the system's ability to produce positive results. The board member who thought the best books were not procurred believed this was due to a design flaw (petitioner participation) which probably resulted in books being removed (as opposed to selected) before he ever saw them. Those respondents who felt the books were best seemed to attribute this to the system itself, while the lone opponent, although recognizing a design flaw, also mentioned the notion of "the Commissioner or somebody else" caving in to pressure from those who protested textbooks.

Publishers and TEA personnel alike seemed to believe that the best books were selected because, to begin with, all the reading series were good. One of the Ginn gentlemen noted that its series' approach to such factors as decoding strategies and comprehension skills was different from most of the others, but that good basal reading programs are all "basically" the same (Tape no. 42). Even one of the petitioners claimed, among other things, to have found many of the same stories in all of the series (Tape no. 51). What made those basal readers selected in Texas the best, in the minds of some, was the fact that the procedure reinforced the probability that the books most appropriate for Texas would be selected.

Petitioner interview data suggested that none of the reading series finally selected that year were thought to be the best. Alhough the interviewees from this category never said as much, their Bills of Particulars and hearing testimony show that each was concerned with the sense of what might be called "contemporary permissiveness" these readers represented in their eyes. The available record shows that each selected series was protested before the State Board. As was mentioned earlier, general petitioner dissatisfaction with the fact that none of the reading series adopted could be defined as "intensive phonics" appears to have been a major factor in the board' directive to the Commissioner to investigate a subsequent adoption of such series. I would have to say that, from these data, petitioners felt that it was the participants, not the system's structure, who were mainly responsible for the adoption of books such as these for use in Texas schools.

Strengths of the Selection and Adoption System

Ten respondents from the 1980 textbook committee offered written comments about the Texas textbook system's strengths. These included praise for the way in which the committee members had been selected, the overall organization of the procedure, and the careful evaluations of committee members and advisors made possible by the proclamation guidelines. One strength shared by four committee members was the system's broad, profesional base upon which initial selection decisions were based. This category included praise for the inclusion of many subject-matter experts as well as the large number of persons throughout who took part in those decisions.

Each of the seventeen 1980 board members responding to the survey offered comments regarding the system's strengths. Thirteen members had one form of praise or another for the diversity of participants and information which went into textbook decisions. "Professional expertise is utilized: public input is heard," one former member wrote (Survey no. 291, item 15). Decisions based upon the activities of so many interested and informed participants, according to another, gave "a high degree of professionalism and integrity to the adoption process" (Survey no. 275, item 15).

Three of the former board members mentioned that aspects such as non-competitive pricing, adequate marketing opportunities, and the guarantee of seeing all STC members assured that all publishers had a fair chance at the Texas market. Passing note was also made to the system's cost effectiveness, its assurance of state-wide curriculum uniformity, and the value of the proclamations in assuring the state of having only the best textbooks bid.

Commissioner Bowen mentioned three specific aspects of the textbook system that seemed particularly important to him. To begin with, the system as a whole was the most efficient way carefully to select books for Texas schools. Secondly, it was a tightly-controlled and honest way of getting the job done. In the Commissioner's words:

> I don't know of a more efficient way to choose materials . . . for the public schools, and I certainly don't know of a more *honest* way, fair and impartial. We had some pretty firm rules . . . about what textbook committee members could take in the way of gifts from the publishers. They could go out for a meal, but that was the essence of it. And, you know, if you could be bribed for a ten dollar meal, you're pretty easy. (Tape no. 43)

The third strength of the system, in Bowen's mind, was the inclusion of public participation through the filing of written protests and the presentation of oral testimony at hearings. The Commissioner leaves little doubt that for him, this participation was much more than just the "window dressings" of a democratic procedure:

> I welcomed the hearings. As some general said, "War is too important to be left to the generals." Education is too important to be left to to professional educators alone. The user, the parents of children, and

> the public has a right to be heard on what is in those textbooks. I believe that profoundly. At times, they gave us some very fine information; at times, they nit-picked -- they made supreme court cases out of misdemeanors. They gave me the impression [that] a lot of their energy was being used in order to get publicity for themselves or their organization instead of being genuinely interested in the textbook materials. But all-in-all, the totality of it was good. (Tape no. 43)

During her interview, Celestia Davis spoke of the importance of trust, throughout the procedure, as one of the reasons why it worked so well. Teachers, publishers, and board members trusted Agency personnel to call for the books most important to Texas education: "[Board members] trust us for content, but we trust them for the other kinds of things that . . . will make it possible to get [books] into the schools" (Tape no. 30). Once the proclamations are official, this trust is redirected to the STC: "You've got to put [the proclamation] out there and then trust the teachers that make the decisions" (Tape no. 30). This trust then continues, with the staff trusting their own professional judgements as they review textbooks, the Commissioner trusting in the work of his staff, the board trusting the commissioner's judgements, and everyone trusting the board to make the "correct" textbook decisions as representatives of the public at large.

One of the men from Ginn believed that the membership of the textbook committee was one of the system's definite strengths (Tape no.

42), and both spoke of the "openness" of the Texas textbook system as an obvious strength. One publisher offered these observations:

> Traditionally, I think that one of the strengths of the Texas system has been that much of it was so open, particularly the protests. . . . In a sense, although that has enhanced the publicity value of the protesters . . ., it also has brought into the foreground what was happening with respect to books [that content was being altered and/or removed] . . . And ultimately, it has led in the changes to the system in both the Agency and the State Board responding to the People for the American Way and the other groups who were speaking-up for sound books. . . . I also believe that more classroom teachers are aware, today, than they were ten years ago, of what's happening and presumably playing a greater role in speaking-out [about textbook selection and adoption]. (Tape no. 31)

Both petitioners agreed that providing for public participation was the system's primary strength because, as Commissioner Bowen suggested, it gave non-educators some say in an apparently educational matter. In the words of one petitioner: "It's just a thrill to participate in the education thing . . ." (Tape no. 49).

From these collective responses, several patterns may be identified between participant groups with regard to the strengths of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system in 1980. The large number of competent professionals who participated in the procedure was specifically mentioned by publishers, board members and textbook committee members. In one form or another, the value of the proclamations (as guides for publishers and evaluators) was mentioned by members of each decision group. Use of such terms as "integrity," "trust," "honest," and "open" by board members, TEA personnel, and publishers suggest that in their minds, the system was, on the whole, untarnished and free of prohibited activities. The one strength mentioned by members of all groups except the textbook committee was participation by the general public. These activities brought a valuable balance to the procedure and have helped to keep the issue of quality textbooks alive for the general Texas public as well as those who regularly participate.

Weaknesses of the Selection and Adoption System

Members of participant groups during 1980 were also asked to describe the system's weaknesses. Included among the eight textbook committee responses were that STC members had too little information as they began their task and that the whole of the initial selection phase was too long. Another member believed that publishers exerted too much pressure on some advisors, writing:

> [The initial decision phase] can be very political -- probably too much money spent by publishers to impress the advisors. It takes *very* strong-willed, dedicated, professional individuals to handle the situation. (Survey no. 170, item 18)

The majority of STC respondents, however, made some mention of the textbook hearings as a system weakness. Two felt that there should have been public participation by both proponents and opponents of the books (this is now the case). Others mentioned the length of time taken for the hearings (five days), the fact that they were held only in Austin, and that the textbook hearings became a media circus.

All of the board members identified particular weaknesses in the system. Their concerns included textbook authors' lack of teaching experience and the limitations state adoption places on local district selection. Eight members did, in some way, see the textbook hearings as a weakness. Most saw the information provided by petitioners as slanted and unrepresentative of the general public. Two responses typify these collective feelings about textbook hearings: "While it gives the majority a voice, it also opens the door for minorities [to dominate]" (Survey no. 273, item 16); "Allowing too many do-gooders bitch about everything being bad [was a weakness]" (Survey no. 287, item 16). In addition to those weaknesses, two board members mentioned self-perceived weaknesses: One believed that members of the SBE did not have sufficient time to evaluate the books, and another worried that board members allowed personality differences to become a part of their adoption process.

Those at the TEA also identified some weaknesses in the system. One such problem, which has recently been solved, was that proclamations were officially adopted and released too late for publishers to do much about them *vis a vis* making necessary and substantive alterations to their materials. This weakness led, in Commissioner Bowen's opinion, to some books being selected by the STC which did not fit the proclamations, but which had been made to appear as though they did through the skillful salesmanship of publishers' representatives. It further resulted in semantic battles over the proclamation's wording (Tape no. 43).

This weakness was acknowledged by Celestia Davis also, who added another which was not surprising coming from someone in her position:

> If I had any criticism at all . . ., it would be that [members of the STC] don't look at the . . . state as a whole; that they probably look at their own, particular problems a little bit more than they look at what would make the best *array* of books if we are trying to get different kinds of books on the list for all kinds of children and teachers . . . We tend to get books too much alike. (Tape no. 30)

Ginn's publishers, not surprisingly, found weaknesses in the system's initial decision phase. Both spoke of the difficulty in knowing whether the STC members were the decisionmakers or whether their choices were essentially made for them by an advisor, a district supervisor, or someone else. Another weakness, mentioned earlier by one of the publishers, was the fact that some STC members and advisors viewed the initial selection process as an initial elimination process, meaning that they were not carefully evaluating each book but, instead, looking to see how they might use the proclamation to remove books. Neither publisher dwelled on the system's weaknesses, nor did the petitioners, who spoke only of the apparent general inattentiveness of STC and SBE members at the hearings.

This fact, according to one, was the reason why "the media plays a big role in this" (Tape no. 51).

A review of this information indicates that there are few perceptions of weaknesses of the system shared between groups. The inattention to local needs, mentioned by one board member, was a concern of the petitioners interviewed and Dr. Davis who, from her perspective at the Agency, felt that the adopted books were too much alike. Having to pay special attention to persons involved in the intital decision phase other than members of the textbook committee was mentioned by the publishers and one STC member. However, the aspect of the system which was mentioned as a weakness by textbook committee and State Board members as well as petitioners was the textbook hearings. The gist of their combined concerns seems to be that the hearings have become something other than a time for members representing the general public to address decisionmakers; that, for one reason or another, small, highly vocal special interest groups have learned to use the media to distort an otherwise uneventful process for public participation.

Summary of 1980 Case Study Data

Major Textbook Evaluation Criteria Used by Decisionmakers

State Textbook Committee members. Members of this group, with their advisors, used different evaluation forms in their textbook reviews. After removing those series which did not appear to sufficiently meet the proclamation, remaining textbooks were compared with each other. The three evaluation criteria most important in these comparisons were "adherence to the proclamation," "organization and presentation of content," and "pedagogical strength." The proclamation, as an evaluation criterion, was identified as the most important of these.

Although evaluation forms must have been generic in nature so as to be useful for all of the books being adopted (see Appendix M), two of the interviewees from this group were able to provide reasonably specific examples of what they looked for as they used the above criteria. Written comments on STC surveys and interview data illustrate the thoroughness with which members of this group carried-out their textbook evaluations.

Texas Education Agency personnel. Those at the Agency reviewed textbooks as editors and judges. As editors, they looked for errors of fact or omission in the copy, itself. The basal readers adopted in 1980 did not, on the whole, contain many editorial errors. As judges, Agency staff, using the record of petitioners' Bills of Particulars and publishers Answers, went through each book in an attempt to determine whether or not protested content was truly in violation of the proclamation. These judgements were based on the professional standards of staff as well as on their understanding of the intent of the proclamation's specific wording. Although their decisions were given to the Commissioner as recommendations, it appears that they were routinely accepted without change.

State Board of Education members. Most members of this group began paying attention to particular textbooks before it came time for them to conduct their own hearing, although more than forty percent of respondents waited until that hearing to learn of the books to be adopted

(In 1980, the hearing was held on a Thursday and the books adopted that Saturday). Most board members (65%) had either a personal awareness or an awareness through information provided by their advisors of some of the textbooks being adopted. Their advisors were mainly teachers and subject specialists from the member's congressional district. Highly technical books and particularly controversial books received the most attention.

The very textbook evaluation criteria in practically the same degrees of importance identified by the textbook committee members were listed by board members. This is thought to be due to two important factors: first, the number of educators previewing the books earlier in the procedure and their own use of educators as advisors made the two seemingly pedagogical criteria important in the minds of board members; second, they may have interpreted "organization and presentation of content" (which was intended to represent something similar to "format") as something more like "choice of content presented," which was the primary focus of petitioners' protests.

Influence on Textbook Decisionmakers

Petitioner influence on State Textbook Committee members. Nearly sixty-five percent of this group reported having realized no petitioner influence in their textbook decisions. Of those who were, all noted this influence resulting from the textbook hearings. Interview data indicate that some of this was negative influence, that is, STC members' deciding to not pay attention to petitioner information. On the other hand, other data point to petitioners' ability to steer committee members toward something in a book or books which members had paid little or no attention to previously. All of the basal reading series were protested that year, and there is no way to determine, absolutely, whether those protests were responsible for textbook committee members' decisions not to select any of them. One of the petitioners believed her testimony was responsible for one of the series not being listed, but the publishers from Ginn both believe that the protests were not a factor in the committee's decision not to list the Ginn series. The series most heavily protested, both in writing and during the hearings, was listed on the first ballot.

Petitioner influence on Texas Education Agency personnel. There seem to be three ways in which petitioners had influence on those at the Agency. First, their protests of previously adopted textbooks were taken into account when subsequent proclamations are prepared. Evidence of such influence is visible in the specific wording of the 1980 proclamation regarding sex-role stereotyping, for example. Second, petitioners' information was used as a literal guide by staff members in reviewing books selected by the STC. In this respect, only those portions of books receiving protests were judged as to whether or not there had been a direct violation of the proclamation. Third, the arguments made by petitioners did, in a few cases, prove convincing enough to result in recommendations for content changes and deletions. Approximately four percent of the changes made in the 1980 basal readers were content changes and deletions; however, those changes constituted an imperceptibly small percentage of the total protests of adopted readers made by petitioners.

Petitioner influence on State Board of Education members. Again, there appear to be three ways in which petitioners influenced the members of this group: petitioners succeeded in having changes made in the proclamation wording; petitioners presented vocal protests before the SBE which were typically unchallenged by publishers; and petitioners developed personal relationships with board members which created an informal avenue for influence.

Only 29% of the board members responding to my survey felt that petitioners typically had no influence on any of their textbook decisions. Among the rest, most acknowledged that petitioners typically had some influence in their decisions about certain textbooks, most probably those which became most controversial (e.g., biology, reading, health, history). This influence was primarily a result of petitioners' testimony before the board and successful personal communications, and was manifested in their ability to direct the board to specific textbook content. Although each of the 1980 basal reading series was protested before the State Board, none was removed. However, less than a year later, a subsequent adoption of "intensive phonics" readers was held at the request of the board.

Publisher influence on State Textbook Committee members. Despite the fact that textbook committee members believed that publishers emphasized the same aspects of their books which were important in their own evaluations, most committee members (64%) were not influenced by publishers. Those who recognized publisher influence indicated that it usually came in the form of information provided in formal and informal presentations, information which was carefully designed to play certain aspects (e.g., the presentation of decoding skills) of one publisher's series against those of another. This specific information apparently helped STC members who were left with the seven or eight strongest basal reading series, for example, to pare their list to the necessary five.

Publisher influence on Texas Education Agency personnel. Maintaining a strong, mutually-respectful working relationship with Agency personnel may have been the publishers' major influence in as much as that relationship resulted in beneficial outcomes for both groups. There are no data indicating that there was any sort of attempt, by publishers, to influence staff decisions regarding content changes and deletions. We do know that whenever such decisions were made, publishers were informed and typically agreed to them. When a publisher felt there was a problem with making such changes, a "show cause" hearing would be called, at which time both the publisher and the Commissioner would discuss the issue at hand. We know, from the interview data, that there were times when the publisher's argument was successful; however, we also know that often they were not. Nevertheless, "show cause" hearings did provide an opportunity for publisher influence.

Publisher influence on State Board of Education members. Publishers typically influenced some textbook decisions of almost thirty percent of respondents from this group. The one example provided by an interviewee suggested that this occurred as a result of a publisher's rebuttal to specific textbook protests. However, the data leave little doubt that publishers seldom offered oral testimony at board hearings, choosing, instead, to stand on their written responses. This is one of the reasons thought to be responsible for 71% of board respondents claiming not to have been typically influenced by publishers. There appears to have been a conscious effort, on the part of some board members, not to allow themselves to be influenced by publishers for fear that they may create the impression of some sort of "conflict of interests" between seller and buyer.

Serving as StateTextbook Committee Members and Advisors

The composition of this STC, like all others, had to meet certain geographical and ethnic requirements in addition to the legal requirements previously mentioned (e.g., no financial interest with any publishing firm). Nominations for the textbook committee came largely from the Agency staff, although superintendents, curriculum supervisors, and university professors were often invited to make recommendations to both the staff and the Commissioner. All non-administrators were selected because of their successful professional experience and their knowledge of the subject areas in which books were being adopted. Subject specialists were carefully screened by Agency personnel, including the Commissioner, in an effort to determine whether or not they met a variety of important criteria (other than experience and expertise), including leadership ability and "correct" political and professional ideas (i.e., they could not be "radicals"). When the final list of fifteen members was selected, board members from whose congressional districts textbook committee members were chosen were provided with "their" STC member's name.

Advisors to STC members were selected primarily on the basis of their background in the areas in which books were being selected and adopted, although their professional experience as teachers and supervisors was also mentioned by many as important. The data indicate that, in most cases, these advisors -- or at least the one advisor who was to serve as the chairperson for an advisory committee -- were known to the STC member who selected them, although in some cases, particularly in smaller school districts, advisors were chosen by superintendents, principals, or curriculum supervisors from the surrounding areas. It appears that there was little effort made, by STC members, to investigate the competence of advisors beyond knowing their professional qualifications. Following an initial organization meeting, the STC member seldom saw all of these advisors again but did keep in touch with the chairperson in each of their groups.

Decisionmakers as Representatives

State Textbook Committee members. Combined survey, interview, and historical record data indicate that, in the case of basal reading series at least, the textbook evaluations and decisions made by the 1980 STC would not have been substantially different than the same decisions made by randomly selected groups of Texas reading teachers and specialists. In addition, nearly sixty-five percent of respondents claimed that they followed their advisors' recommendations in every decision they made about textbooks outside of their own subject-area. The data permit me to suggest that the textbook decisions made by the 1980 STC had a strong degree of representational legitimacy for the thousands of Texas teachers who would eventually use those books in their everyday work.

The data also indicate that, on the first ballot cast in each subject area, textbook committee members adopted the delegate style of representation, voting according to the wishes of their advisors. This style continued to be followed by some committee members despite the apparent hopelessness in doing so. On the other hand, perhaps an equally large number of STC members adopted the politico style of representation, using their own judgement and the information of the subject expert member of their group to change their votes in certain situations. This style of representation was less likely in situations where all books are chosen within two ballots. Nevertheless, the data leave little doubt that both the delegate and politico styles were adopted by textbook committee members in voting for the five 1980 basal reading series.

State Board of Education members. A slight majority of board members requested advice from teachers and subject specialists from their congressional districts before making their textbook decisions. Two-thirds of these board members said that the information received from these advisors had at least some influence on their decisions about certain textbooks, most likely those which were highly technical (e.g., chemistry) or controversial (e.g., social studies). It appears that members were more likely to follow their advisors' recommendations more closely on the technical books than on the controversial books. Under those conditions, SBE members who used advisors were adopting the delegate style with regard to their choices of especially technical books and the politico style in the case of controversial ones.

Twenty-nine percent of board respondents claimed no recognition of constituent influence in their textbook decisions. Interview data from the large majority of members who *did* recognize constituent influence strongly suggest that many of the members of this board believed that their textbook decisions were conscious reflections of at least some of their constituent's textbook desires. These data make it impossible to say that most members of the 1980 SBE adopted the trustee style of representation when adopting textbooks; instead, they suggest the probability that members gave serious consideration to those voters who spoke with them about textbooks, and in some cases, perhaps, actually followed voters' wishes. Actions such as these reflect, at least, the politico style and the possibility of the delegate style of representation. Due to the mixture and uncertainty surrounding representational styles of board members, it is impossible for me to make any sound generalizations regarding the representational legitimacy of board members' textbook decisions *vis a vis* their constituencies.

Participants' General Impressions of the Texas Textbook System

Procuring the best textbooks. Virtually all of the decisionmakers believed that Texas receives the best textbooks. Most of them believe that this is because of the way in which the books are selected and adopted (e.g., the system invites public participation and guards against "deals" being made by publishers). However, many others apparently believe that the caliber of participants, particularly those at the initial decision phase, deserves much of the credit for the quality of Texas textbooks. There is evidence that "best books" can be fairly interpreted as those which make it through the system and are most appropriate for the Texas population as opposed, for instance, to the best books available nationally or the best that are possible to produce. Data from the Agency records and petitioner interviews indicates that, in the opinion of petitioners, the best basal readers were not adopted in 1980.

Strengths of the selection and adoption system. Strengths which were common between respondent groups included the large number of knowledgeable educators who took part in the decisions at every level (all board members using advisors used teachers and subject specialists, among others). Respondents from each of the three decision groups felt that the proclamations were valuable as both guides for publishers and evaluation instruments. Annual participants (TEA personnel, board members, and publishers) offered comments which in one way or another suggest that one of the system's greatest strengths was its absence of "extra-legal" activities, and all participants, except for members of the STC, believed that public participation made the system strong.

Weaknesses of the selection and adoption system. There was less between-group agreement in the area of systemic weaknesses. One aspect discussed as a weakness by all participant groups, some more directly than others, was the textbook hearings. It seems that, instead of the hearings being a forum for providing textbook decisionmakers with information important to their task, participants recognized that textbook hearings had become ineffective in that regard because of the lengthy and repetitive testimony which was given. Furthermore, members of each respondent group, including the petitioners, felt that the textbook hearings often degenerated into what might best be called "media events."

This summary contains the major findings pertinent to my two focus questions and three related areas of interest. They are based upon data collected from those key participants in the 1980 selection and adoption of basal reading series for Texas. In the final portion of this chapter, I provide similarly organized data from the 1981 selection and adoption of high school economics textbooks for Texas schools.

Case Number Three: 1981 High School Economics Adoption

Publisher: Sterling Swift

These data, like those offered in the previous two accounts, will be presented and discussed as they pertain to the order of my major focus questions (How were textbooks evaluated? and Was there petitioner and/or publisher influence on decisionmakers?)[7] and related interest areas (membership with the STC, representative decisions, and general system observations).

Major Textbook Evaluation Criteria Used by Decisionmakers

State Textbook Committee Members

The three evaluation criteria chosen as most important by textbook committee members were "organization and presentation of content" (13 respondents - 93%), "adherence to the proclamation" (11 respondents - 79%), and "pedagogical strength" (11 respondents - 79%). Two of those interviewed talk, below, of how they looked at the way a book's content was organized and presented below:

> STC Member 1: I think one of the things that they [experts?] say, in general, about textbooks is, "Evaluate the organization." I felt that I had five real strong . . . teachers [in my subject area] as advisors and that we looked at it from the perspective of . . . the simplest concepts to the most difficult and were they presented in an interesting and appealing but sequential manner. . . . And then, also, the way that the concepts were presented in the text. . . . [W]e would evaluate [concepts] based on was the content correct and was it presented in a correct manner. (Tape no. 38)

> STC Member 2: [Organization and presentation of content] should be, and must be, the first thing you look for in a textbook. Each of us has a specific type of student that we're working with . . . We had to look at a textbook that would be able to fit the needs of every one of our students, not only at our major schools, but those other schools where the kids do not come up, or [do] not have a very high average in test-taking. . . . Regardless of what the proclamation says, our main concern is the student that we are teaching. [Later, when commenting on the books' similarities, a related comment was added.] They were alike in the sense that they had all the content that was needed, but

> what more or less led me to choose what we did was . . . the presentation or I guess the sequence in which it was done.
> (Tape no. 25)

The single interviewee who commented on his evaluation of textbooks as "tools" described his search for books containing certain techniques that are important to the instruction of his subject: "I think I've had enough experience . . . to come up with what I feel is the best technique for approaching [the teaching of my subject]" (Tape no. 25). It would appear that this belief might have been commonly held by those on the committee who had had many years of experience as teachers and/or subject specialists.

Another interviewee spoke of the importance of the proclamation as an evaluation tool; he held no assumptions that each of the submitted books met the proclamation equally:

> STC Member: On my advisory committees, one of the things that I asked each of [them] to come to a consensus [on] was -- on a scale of 1-10, with ten being the highest -- . . . their assessment of how well that textbook . . . met the proclamation.
> Interviewer: Did you find variations?
> STC Member: Yes. . . . I had some rankings down . . . as low as 2.
> Interviewer: Were there any correlations between *that* ranking and the consensus ranking of the best textbooks that . . . you asked for later?

> STC Member: Oh yes. Quite frequently, those with low proclamation rankings were generally ones that I would not support *unless* the [advisory] committee could give me some telling reasons why they were going to select that as one that I should vote for. (Tape no. 34)

A final note about STC textbook evaluation criteria seems in order. One of the selections available to committee members was "suitability to your specific students, location, etc." Given that STC members are charged with the selection of books for use throughout the state, I had expected few members, if any, to choose this as one of their three most important evaluation criteria. Nonetheless, 4 respondents (29%) chose the "suitability" criterion. One of those who did explains why:

> I thought that our responsibility as a [STC] member was [to select books for] the state of Texas, much more than a narrow, parochial view of just [my district]. I tried to keep in mind that we are going to have some responsibility for the entire state, and to keep in mind that we're talking about kids of many different abilities and persuasions. (Tape no. 34)

Attention to the many different students (and teachers and districts) throughout the state was a theme frequently mentioned during my interviews. This committee member interpreted the "suitability" criterion to mean a representation of that broad, "whole state" perspective.

Each of the interviewees from this respondent group spoke of evaluation guides which they and their advisors used. One used guides provided by the school district, which were updated with each new state adoption to reflect any new requirements found in the new proclamation. Another textbook committee member (noted earlier), actually used two such guides, one to evaluate books according to subject-specific criteria, and another to measure the books' fit with the proclamation. Indeed, creating their own guides was mentioned by three of the four interviewees. One member was able to help me understand how such evaluation guides, especially those which draw heavily on the proclamation (see Appendix U), might be useful for conducting two entirely different sorts of evaluations:

> STC Member: We built evaluation forms based on the proclamation . . . We judged the books in all the areas of the proclamation . . . on a 1-5 scale and came up with a total number, [then] ranked them according to that total number. . . . After we finished, we could identify what we considered were the real strengths and weaknesses of the book, and then, what comments should be made either in defense or opposed to the particular textbook when it came time to discuss it.
> Interviewer: So your group did not evaluate these comparatively?
> STC Member: Well, no. We evaluated them independently and then compared them overall. (Tape no. 38)

This evaluation system permitted them to make what amounted to a "first cut" according to numerical values related to the books' adherence to the proclamation. Once this was done, they would have fewer books to compare more thoroughly and re-investigate afterwards (as this member later told me was the case).

We can see from the data presented above that members of the 1981 State Textbook Committee paid very close attention to how content was organized and presented in the books they reviewed. With the exception of one interviewee, fairly specific examples were given as to what they looked for when using this criterion. Adherence to the proclamation and pedagogical strength, while slightly less important than how the books were formatted, were the other evaluation criteria most frequently mentioned by STC members. Members and their advisors used textbook evaluation forms of one sort or another to make decisions about these most important criteria and in some cases, these forms were directly related to the proclamation wording. Three of the interviewees asked all of their advisors to use the same evaluation form and one allowed each advisor group to create its own form. In the interest of orderly data gathering, however, it seems more probable that most STC members would have asked their advisory committees to either use an identical evaluation form or at least to eventually transfer their evaluations to some common reporting form for the member's convenience (see Appendix M). Despite the importance respondents gave to "adherence to the proclamation" as an evaluation criterion, one of the economics petitioners from that year is convinced that some economics texts selected by the STC did not meet the proclamation guidelines.

Texas Education Agency Personnel

Multiple selections were made in 31 subject areas during the 1981 textbook adoption cycle, which meant that Agency personnel had about six weeks (September 9 - October 27) to review some 200 titles. What did they look for as they evaluated these books? One of the publishers representing the Swift economics book (which was listed by the STC on the first ballot) offered his understanding of the focus of TEA textbook evaluations:

> The commissioner's staff . . . have a tendency to look at the book [in] a more black and white sort of sense [than members of the STC and their advisors]. The Education Agency, for example, is not who I would make a plea to about a Texas authorship or publisher. They were looking at legitimate content, how it addressed the proclamation, if it was pedagogically sound, even to the extent that they're looking at the quality of the book [e.g., its binding and cover]. Those sorts of criteria in terms of the design of the call, as stated in the proclamation, fell as much on . . . the Education Agency as . . . the textbook committee. . . . [TEA staff] looked at it from a much more objective standpoint [than did the STC], asking only [if] . . . this book [is] what we asked for or not. (Tape no. 52)

Actually, this gentleman was quite close. As we see below, the primary focus of the TEA evaluations was on how well books met the proclamation.

Then Commissioner Raymon Bynum relied on his curriculum staff to conduct thorough reviews of selected texts because, in his words, "There's not any way that a Commissioner of Education could sit and read those books. No way in the world" (Tape no. 45). I asked him what it was that his staff looked for as they reviewed textbooks:

> Staff primarily looked against the proclamation to see if there was any major problems there. Second, they looked at technical corrections. [Because so many books were in draft form], . . . there was a great deal of . . . inaccurateness -- you'd have a table over here or a graph and it wouldn't match another table somewhere. A *tremendous* amount of free editing used to take place. [But] the whole question, does it meet the proclamation or not, became more and more important . . . (Tape no. 45)

Louis Grigar, the man at the Agency responsible for overseeing the review of the 1981 economics texts, spoke of the importance of the proclamation as, "in effect, a legal document which has the stamp of approval and is the statement by the State Board [to the publishers that] . . . this is what we want in a textbook" (Tape no. 23). He went on to speak in more detail about the need for staff to make judgement calls throughout their textbook reviews, referring to this as the "semantics of interpretation" whereby decisions about textbook content resulted from differences between the "intent" of the proclamation's wording and the "results" found in books selected by the STC. Grigar provided the following explanation:

> Our responsibility . . . is to review the content of the books that are recommended as compared to what the proclamation called for. In other words, it's a judgement call for us, the same as it is for the textbook committee, to take that criteria and advise the Commissioner as to whether or not, in *our* opinion, *our* judgement, those books do, indeed, meet the proclamation. It's another check. The Commissioner, then, has the right to do whatever [he pleases] with that information. If a case is strong enough on our part, or he thinks [our] case is strong enough . . . that a particular, nominated book does *not* meet the criteria, he has . . . the right to [call] . . . a show cause hearing [when publishers are asked to show why their book should not be removed] . . . or he can reject our judgement, also. The second part of our review is simple in a way [and yet] it's very detailed. We also look at the books in terms of actual inaccuracies, et cetera. [We also look at] the more technical aspects of the book . . . (Tape no. 23)

Hoping for more specificity, I asked Grigar about the use of petitioners' information during TEA evaluations. After all, the proclamation states that "Bills," "Answers," and transcripts from the initial textbook hearings were to be given "full consideration" by the Commissioner (see Appendix T, September 8). He acknowledged that

> We've been charged with using [those collected materials], also; to respond to that. So we try to be as dispassionate . . ., in nature, as to

> what is submitted to us, and to check each and every statement as to its accuracy: if it's a matter of [factual] error . . ., or if those charges [made by petitioners] are indeed . . . true. And that becomes part of our report to the Commissioner to accept or reject [a book]. . . . [which] goes on, from us, to be negotiated with the publishers themselves. [Note: "Negotiations" with publishers take place in cases where changes are asked to be made; "show cause" hearings take place in cases where books have been recommended for removal from the list.] (Tape no. 23)

These data suggest that the review of the 1981 economics books was not done simply by going through petitioner concerns point-by-point as a way to establish whether or not a book properly met the proclamation. Instead, it seems as though the books were carefully reviewed by staff (who initiated the proclamation) against the proclamation, itself, and that petitioner concerns were checked for their validity as a separate, perhaps coincidental, action. In other words, two questions were asked during the TEA's review of economics textbooks: (1) Do the books meet the proclamation?, and (2) Are the protests valid? This would be a different approach from the the single question apparently asked by the reading specialists: Do the books violate the proclamation where the petitioners said they did?

Agency records are helpful in sorting through the TEA review process. The Swift book received a comparatively mild protest from Grusendorf, et al. (e.g., it received three pages of written protest while the number of pages for the other three books protested averaged nine, one of the others was accused of using "psychological techniques unacceptable for public school use"; and another's author was said to be presenting a socialist economic viewpoint. See Texas Education Agency, 1981c, Vols. 11&12). The Swift Bill of Particulars found the book lacking in five areas directly related to the proclamation. Four of these problems were conceptual in nature (e.g., "How individual motivation affects economic interaction") and one involved the need for "A more direct discussion of inflation and the effects of money supply on inflation" (Texas Education Agency, 1981, November, p. 92).

The Swift book survived the Agency review, though somewhat "scarred" in that sixty-nine changes were requested of the publisher. These changes fell into three categories: editorial (the large majority), such as replacing words and correcting punctuation; statistics updates, which were requested throughout the book; and replacement (the smallest category) of several pictures and illustrations with ones "more appropriate" (Texas Education Agency, 1981a). These changes suggest that the Swift book was, indeed, carefully reviewed by Agency staff against proclamation guideline 1.11 (see Appendix U). Some of the corrections requested may have been found by STC members and advisors during their reviews, but there is no record kept of the changes they recommended. Nevertheless, the book was carefully reviewed before being recommended, by the Commissioner, to the SBE.

On the other hand, none of the suggested changes in any way appear to relate to the concerns expressed in the protests of Grusendorf, et al. This may be due, in part, to the broad, general, conceptual nature of their protests (i.e., they recommended rewriting portions of the text as opposed to asking that words, sentences, or paragraphs be removed or replaced). It may be that Agency staff felt that the protests were simply invalid, or that the protests were valid but the book's overall content met the proclamation satisfactorily as it had originally been written. Whatever the case, the Agency staff do not appear to have been "guided" in their review of the Swift book by petitioners' considerations. Agency requests for updated statistics and more appropriate pictures and illustrations were not reflections of protests but indications that the book had received a quite thorough, independent evaluation related to its adherence to the proclamation.

In the previous section, we have seen that, in the case of the 1981 economics adoption, the number one evaluation criterion of the staff was adherence to the proclamation. As Louis Grigar said, this involved the same kinds of decisions made by the STC *vis a vis* a book's fit with the proclamation. It is logical to assume, however, that the perspectives and interpretations made by those responsible for creating the proclamations were likely to be different, at times, than the proclamation perspectives of the STC members and advisors. The TEA review does not appear to have been guided by petitioners' protests (i.e., where petitioners allege a proclamation violation and the staffer makes a judgement call), but by the curriculum expert's own assessment of each text's fit with the proclamation. Apparently, determining the validity of petitioners' allegations was quite a different, though certainly related, process. In our case, this may have been due to the rather general way in which the Swift book had been protested. As the record shows, a careful editorial review was also done on the Swift book.

State Board of Education Members

Seven respondents from this group (41%) used no advisors, choosing, instead, to review textbooks personally. The remaining members relied on advisors to review textbooks, and apparently looked at some books themselves. When asked to describe their typical degree of awareness of textbooks to be adopted, eight respondents (47%) said that they were personally aware of some books and one member claimed to have personally looked at each book. Of those who used advisors, four (24%) had their advisors look at some of the books, two (12%) had advisors look at most of the books, and another two said their advisors looked at each of the books to be adopted. (Note: These data show eight SBE members using advisors, but only seven members remarked on item 7 (see Appendix E) that they used no advisors. I concluded that at least two members combined advisor review with personal reviews.)

These data indicate that 71% of the 1981 SBE members were typically aware of some of the textbooks being adopted, 12% were typically aware of most, and 17% claimed a typical awareness of each of the books they adopted in November. Ten members (59%) said that they began paying attention to the books prior to the textbook hearing held before the State Board. In 1981, copies of all books submitted for adoption had been placed in the Regional Service Centers by April 24, some six months prior to formal adoption. The point must be made again, however, that members of the board were, for the most part, busy with a great many activities, not the least of which were their own jobs and business concerns. It is unlikely that their textbook reviews would have begun, then, until the STC had made its initial selection decisions (which they completed September 9, 1981), which would have allowed SBE members to selectively review only the pertinent books (i.e., those to be reviewed at the TEA phase). Some, no doubt, waited until the Commissioner had made his textbook decisions, narrowing the list of pertinent books even more. (In 1981, the Commissioner removed two kindergarten systems, one complete series of art books [grades 1-6], another publisher's grades 4-6 art books, two dictionaries, two Spanish books, one theatre arts book, and one homemaking book.) The earliest these removals could have been known to the board, according to the calendar of events (see Appendix T), was October 27, 1981. Those on the board who waited until then to review the remaining texts had just sixteen days, until their own textbook hearing took place, in which to accomplish their own textbook evaluations. Seven respondents (41%) answered that their awareness of textbooks was born at those hearings.

When asked which criteria were valuable to them in evaluating textbooks, SBE members selected "adherence to the proclamation" (15 respondents - 88%), "pedagogical strength" (11 respondents - 65%), and "organization and presentation of content" (9 respondents - 53%). Because the board paid such careful attention to the wording of the proclamations, it is not surprising to find it listed as one of the three major textbook evaluation criteria by almost ninety percent of the respondents. The importance they placed on the seemingly pedagogical criteria is probably a result of (1) their recognition of the many educators who had passed judgement on the books before they reached the board, and (2) the fact that, of the ten members who used advisors,-each one used teachers and four of the ten used subject specialists.

Looking back on these data, several questions arise. For example, what sort of an awareness did board members typically have of these books? It would seem virtually impossible for board members to have read every book they adopt, and we know from their responses that the large majority of them were typically aware of only some of the books to be adopted. One of the board members who had those "selective" awarenesses elaborated:

> I went through them very lightly . . . See, there's so many textbooks that we have to go through . . ., different ones. And they have different materials. . . . a lot of [which] we're not really abreast of unless we get . . . into it [in depth]. . . . I feel by [looking through the books], we get a feel of what material is available . . . (Tape no. 20)

Although there were dozens of petitioners who had entered the process when it began, and although the "Bills" and "Answers" filled thirteen volumes and the original textbook hearing transcripts another five volumes, only two petitioners appeared before the board's November 12 called meeting. Given petitioner interest, earlier in the procedure, in science and homemaking books, it is interesting to note that only social studies and economics textbooks were protested before the board. Learning this in mid-October (see Appendix T, October 16) certainly would have helped board members who wanted to look at only those books being challenged at their hearing. Prior to their hearing, board members received copies of the "Bills" and "Answers" pertinent to the books to be protested before them. This volume contained 173 pages of protests and rebuttals for the five elementary social studies books and three of five economics books recommended for adoption (Texas Education Agency, 1981, November). None of the SBE interviewees offered mention of having used this, or any print information which had been collected by the Agency prior to the board hearing. One board member described how he readied himself for the hearing:

> We're notified that the hearings will be coming up. So you start asking [people at the Agency] . . . what kinds of books are coming up or what is it that will be available? Of course, that doesn't mean that we're necessarily informed as to the material that was going to be placed before us. (Tape no. 20).

Perhaps the timing of the printed materials which were distributed to the SBE was too late to be of any practical use to them?

Nevertheless, members did at least look through some of the books (or had advisors look for them), and most looked at how the books met the proclamation. According to one respondent who was interviewed, these textbooks were reviewed by members of "what I considered a conservative board of education" (Tape no. 36). The following is an example of how a conservative board member (by his own admission) used the proclamation as an evaluation criterion:

> I did try to detect whether or not [textbooks] had abided by the proclamation. That was one of the first things you looked for. . . . I was looking for anything that was un-American [and] unpatriotic, [and] I certainly tried to ferret-out the obscenities and the risque' things and the permissive things that were included. (Tape no. 19)

When asked for an example of content that was unpatriotic or un-American, he went on:

> Well, [long pause] if they played down the free enterprise system, and if they tried to enhance the importance of a one-world type government, or things that are contrary to the sound economic philosophy of our country . . . (Tape no. 19)

Indeed, some of these very concerns are carefully noted in the 1981 general proclamation guidelines (see Appendix U) and the specific guidelines for economics texts (see Appendix V).

This may be the same board member one of the Swift publishers was referring to as he recalled the board's hearing that year. He remembered that

> the State Board of Education . . . [was] more concerned about the treatment of free enterprise, as a concept [than were the TEA personnel], and . . . [there was] quite a bit of discussion about what the definition of free enterprise *was*. . . . It was a significant issue in that one of the State Board members had a strong opposition to the way that free enterprise was presented in a number of the texts. Fortunately, [ours] was not among those. (Tape no. 52)

A review of this section shows that 71% of the board respondents typically had some degree of awareness of some of the textbooks they were about to adopt, and it is probable (based on data to be presented in the section on petitioner influence on the SBE) that most of those were books which had received much attention from the petitioners. Fifty-nine percent of the respondents typically used advisors to inform them about textbooks, and fifty-nine percent said that they began paying attention to the books prior to their textbook hearing. I believe it unlikely that members of the SBE, on the whole, had a thorough awareness of many of textbooks; they probably were familiar with aspects of certain books that were being debated by the petitioners. A review of the original surveys shows that virtually all of those who sought the aid of advisors said that their awareness of the textbooks came prior to the SBE hearing. Nearly ninety percent of respondents felt that the proclamation was one of the three most important evaluation criterion, yet the wording of those documents appears to have caused some problem for the 1981 board as it attempted to adopt economics books. Pedagogical strength and organization and presentation of content were the other textbook evaluation criteria listed as most important by board respondents. This is believed to be due, in large part, to their use of educators as personal advisors and their recognition of the large numbers of educators responsible for making previous evaluations of the books sent to the board for adoption.

Influence on Textbook Decisionmakers

One of the operating assumptions of this study is that textbook selection and adoption decisions made during this procedure were intended to be influenced by both petitioners and publishers. In the section which follows, I present data concerning the nature and extent, if any, of this influence.

Petitioner Influence

State Textbook Committee members. For five days in August, 1981, STC members and several Agency administrators representing the Commissioner sat and listened to dozens of petitioners and publishers debate everything from obscene words in dictionaries to the number of females found in woodworking books (Texas Education Agency, 1981, August). Members of the textbook committee were asked to identify what they felt was the major textbook evaluation criterion (they could select only one) of most petitioners. Each of the following criteria received one response: "effectiveness," "pedagogical strength," "organization and presentation of content," and "adherence to the proclamation." The remaining respondents (71%) selected "other." One of those I interviewed had chosen "adherence to the proclamation," and I asked her to elaborate:

> I've given a lot of thought to [that] answer [we had pre-arranged the interview]. . . The other answer I would have had would be [that] I think [the petitioners] kind of had *pet* subjects they dealt with, although they *stressed* [inaudible] of the proclamation. [I asked for an example] The Gablers, in [the textbooks in my subject area] particularly, were concerned with some pet things that they looked for in a *lot* of the textbooks. I think perhaps most petitioners had things that they specifically were seeking-out in particular. Of course, that probably followed the proclamation. (Tape no. 27)

It seems that even this respondent might have been agreeing with ten of her colleagues who felt that, in general, petitioners had concerns other than those held by STC members. This stands to reason, given that two of the three criteria listed as most important by STC respondents were pedagogical yet so few heard the same concerns coming from petitioners. One of the STC members choosing "other" for this response felt that

> Each [petitioner] seemed to have a particular bias. You had the womens' group that had the bias on counting how many females were represented in the woodworking books, for example, even up to the case of female hands. You had the parents that were real concerned, that year, about many of the home economics books [which] were

> talking too much about sex . . . But nobody seemed to address it from a . . . pedagogical viewpoint. They all had some inner reason and appeared to be protesting a particular book. I guess the ones that would come strongest to at least looking at pedagogy would have been the DAR [Daughters of the American Revolution] or the Gablers, because of their organized presentation and citing things [in the books] that *they* felt should have been included, or not enough emphasis was put on, at the time. . . .They would attack such things as the cover of a book, saying that the cover was anti-American . . . (Tape no. 38)

Despite the high collective number of respondents who felt that petitioners' evaluations represented their concerns for "specific content" (Survey nos. 186, 187, & 191), "personal bias" (Survey nos. 188 & 195), "special interests" (Survey nos. 187 & 193), or "axes to grind" (Survey no. 189), six of the fourteen STC respondents (42%) felt that they were influenced by petitioners in their selection of certain books. Of this group, two-thirds believed this influence resulted from the oral testimony presented by petitioners during the five days of hearings. As one interviewee put it: "And the more they came up and attacked [one publisher's textbooks] the more you got in your head that there's something wrong with [those books], *not that the protests were legitimate*. . .(emphasis added)" (Tape no. 38).

Learning from the record that members of the 1981 STC did not receive their copies of the written protests and responses until they arrived in Austin to attend the hearings (Texas Education Agency, 1981b, p. xix), I was surprised to see that two respondents said that the influence they attributed to petitioners resulted from those documents. I asked one of the interviewees who had selected that response to explain:

> When we came back [from the week of hearings], it was my responsibility to share the protests with . . . my advisory committees. So I tore [the "Bills" and "Answers"] all up, you know, took all the [13 volumes] and tore them apart [Note: they were not organized by subject areas] and gave [the appropriate portions to each advisory group]. And when you saw a stack of protests against a particular book, not based on what the protests said, but based on the way that people were concerned about the book, people [on the advisory committees] would get concerned because they would wonder [if they were] going to have the same type of problem when [they tried] to adopt it locally. And . . . it would cause them to go back and re-evaluate what they thought about that book [and decide whether or not they were] as strong on it. (Tape no. 38)

Nevertheless, most textbook committee members realized petitioner influence resulting from the textbook hearings.

Though 43% of STC respondents recognized petitioner influence, the majority (57%) did not. Most, presumably, were not influenced because of the bases on which petitioners appeared to them to be protesting the books:

> Nothing was relevant to the books. They [seemed] to take on those little things that seemed to fit *their* little biases. . . . I remember one thing, maybe because I had never thought about it, [that] did strike a note, but I still felt it wasn't that important. There was a little novelette at the end of one of the textbooks. It seems that one of these [petitioners] was concerned that the heroine was, I think she was a cripple or something, and [the petitioner was] concerned as to why does it have to be a woman. I mean, I just never thought about this. [The story] was . . . sound [and] something for the kids to catch on to, and all of a sudden [the petitioners] tossed this thing to us which was so insignificant. (Tape no. 25)

While this may seem like a good example of consciousness-raising, the interviewee was not prompted to alter any basic textbook decisions. For another interviewee, even petitioners' ability to lead decisionmakers to reconsider was not always successful: "I could not, necessarily, point to a specific instance where [petitioners] led me to consider something about a book I felt I hadn't already considered" (Tape no. 34).

Lest we mistakenly assume that all textbook committee members who felt uninfluenced by petitioners were those who were at odds with the interests petitioners represented, I offer the following evidence to the contrary. During my interview with one of the 1981 STC members (who had stated that "adherence to the proclamation" was the primary concern of most petitioners), I mentioned her response that the petitioners had had no influence on any of her textbook decisions. She replied:

> No, not really. . . . One of the reasons I said they didn't have any influence on our decisions [is that] I had those same ideas. . . . That's one of the things that kind of disturbed me about it. Some of those [petitioners] . . . took credit [in the press] for changing our ideas when we really didn't have to be changed. We had those same ideas before [hearing them from the petitioners]. (Tape no. 27)

Eleven economics books were being considered by the STC for selection, nine of those were protested. Once again, it is impossible to even venture a guess as to whether or not the protests had anything to do with the committee's selections. The records show that the book (published by Charles E. Merrill) which six petitioners spoke against was not adopted, although it received seven votes on the first ballot. On the other hand, three of the five books (including Swift's) protested by a single petitioner or receiving no protests were adopted, two of them on the first ballot. I asked one of the Swift publishers to talk about what effect, if any, the protests had on their book's being listed:

> The fact that we even had an endorsement from some of the right-wing groups, which surprised us, [may have helped]. . . . Some of the textbook protesters who came really gave our book a very ringing endorsement. Even *those* people felt [our book was sound].
> (Tape no. 39)

I asked this publisher about the fact that none of the "veteran" petitioners had protested his book:

> No. They were so obsessed with evolution [that] we were lucky, in that sense, that the biology books were [being adopted that year]. . . . We got practically no attention from Mrs. Gabler and that group. But part of that was also a function of the fact that there was another group working out of the University of Dallas . . . an organization called the Fisher Institute, and those people took it upon themselves to review those [economics] books very carefully. They ended up . . . giving our book a very, very sharp, warm endorsement. As a matter of fact, the guy got up and said, "Now we want to make it clear that we believe that *Hard Choices* [Swift's book] is the best book."
> (Tape no. 39)

Despite the inaccuracies of his recollection (e.g., Grusendorf, et al. protested only four of eleven economics texts and there is no record of any such statement made by this group at the five-day textbook hearings), each of the three Swift men were pleased with the way their book had been protested. Nonetheless, it is impossible to know if that protest had any bearing on the eleven STC members who voted for the book on the first ballot.

A review of this section reveals that, although 71% of the STC respondents believed that the focus of petitioners' textbook interests was something "other" than how well the books fit the proclamation or how well the content was organized and presented, 43% of textbook committee respondents recognized that petitioners had some influence on some of their textbook decisions. Two-thirds of those influenced identified petitioners' testimony at textbook hearings as the source of this influence. The interview data also suggest that this decision influence involved mainly those books which were most heavily protested. If that is a correct interpretation of the data, then perhaps it can be useful in helping to explain why the economics book receiving the most petitioner attention was not listed by the STC. On the other hand, the book published by Addison-Wesley received more protests than all but the Merrill book mentioned above, and it was listed on the first ballot. The Swift publishers believed that the petitioner group which protested their book was, in effect, giving them a valuable endorsement. This uncharacteristically enthusiastic publisher response to those protesting his textbook is evident in the opening comments provided in Swift's "Answers." They read, in part:

> We wish . . . to express our appreciation to these petitioners for their laudatory remarks about our textbook, HARD CHOICES, the contents of which were designed to precisely fulfill the objectives set out by the Board's proclamation. We note with pride the following quotations from the Grusendorf Bill of Particulars regarding HARD CHOICES: [quotes three passages which seem to praise the book]. (Texas Education Agency, 1981, November, p. 103)

Perhaps this apparent petitioner support had some effect on the Swift book's selection, but there is no evidence to suggest this.

Following selection by the STC, books were reviewed by TEA personnel. In the section below, I examine the nature and extent of petitioner influence on the members of that decision group.

Texas Education Agency personnel. It appears certain that a major form of influence exerted by petitioners on TEA staff is their ability, through their protest activities, to define the issues regarding proclamation violations which the staff and Commissioner will ultimately be forced to settle. However, in the case of the Swift economics book, this does not seem to have worked much to the petitioners' advantage. As mentioned earlier, there is absolutely no apparent connection between the specific protests made of the Swift book and the changes that were eventually negotiated with the publisher. Despite several requests for "more appropriate" pictures and illustrations in the text, no such demands were made by petitioners. The Swift petitioners, while raising issues about the book which forced judgements from the TEA personnel, apparently were not influential in the outcomes of those judgements.

Another avenue for possible petitioner influence is personal contact with those at the Agency. As state employees, those at the Agency are available to Texas citizens with an interest not only in Textbooks but in any aspect of schooling. Indeed, throughout the textbook adoption procedure, all written documents (e.g., "Bills," requests for special forms, and complaints) must be addressed to the commissioner's office.

In recalling the years before what I am calling the "stable period" of the textbook procedure, Commissioner Edgar recalled numerous encounters of communication with petitioners (Tape no. 3). No mention was made of personal contacts with petitioners by Louis Grigar, but Commissioner Bynum did speak of such contacts, although it sounds like they had little emphasis on trying to personally influence him. As Bynum recalls:

> You hear a great deal about the Gablers. I spoke to the Gablers on the telephone twice. [Once], they asked me [for] a date -- a deadline. The other time, they asked me to mail some additional materials. That was the sum total [of our contact] in the nine years I was there [at the TEA]. . . . That was my total encounter with *any* of them, the traditional ones, the NOWs -- the most liberal or the most conservative. Most of them worked through the system and abided by the rules. (Tape no. 45)

Petitioners contacting TEA personnel does not appear to have been an infraction of any rule that I could find; nonetheless, it was something that did not appear to be an influential practice in the minds of the two gentlemen representing the Agency with whom I spoke.

What each man *did* acknowledge as a form of petitioner influence on those at the Agency was the way in which previous protests affected those which followed. Because of the way in which the proclamations are written (some might describe them as "specifically vague"), "problems" often arise during the times of decision, for publishers have interpreted proclamations one way and petitioners another. And as these data have illustrated throughout, even decision groups interpret the proclamations differently. All of this attention to the interpretation of the proclamation wording has an impact on those at the Agency responsible for writing them, as Louis Grigar acknowledged:

> I would not deny that we're not so oblivious to or . . . impervious to . . . the problems that emerged in previous proclamations, be it the desires of the board, itself, [or] of those who appeared to have certain . . . objections to what were in the previous books or proclamations. But I think the bottom line we try to adhere to . . . is that when we approach it, yes, those [interpretation problems] . . . we're aware of. We try to bring forth to the board a proclamation that is [the] most neutral -- that may be a poor word to use -- set of guidelines that are legitimate to the discipline, to the level of the course, [and to] the kinds of students that are in that course so that we don't lose sight of what the course is all about. [He added shortly afterwards:] I would like to think that we don't write a proclamation just because the publishers feel they may have a problem meeting it or that petitioners would object to from their particular viewpoint, or that we're trying to please the board. (Tape no. 23)

Commissioner Bynum felt that his decisions regarding textbooks were seldom influenced by what petitioners had had to say, in part, because their arguments had become almost routine:

> With all due respect, by the time I became Commissioner [1981], the

> arguments about the NOW and all having just about been over, I really didn't find that much within it. . . . You could nearly make their speech for them. (Tape no. 45)

And although Bynum might have practically memorized their speeches, he found little to agree with -- but had praise for -- the speechmakers:

> I probably didn't agree with 5% of what they said on either side of [an issue], but I found *no* petitioner . . . who I thought -- I found some who I really couldn't understand where they were coming from, but I found them all to be courteous and nice in every way. Whether they agreed with me or not, they were courteous . . . (Tape no. 45)

Bynum had a somewhat different perception than did Grigar of the influence petitioners had on the proclamations. In the following excerpt, the former Commissioner identifies three areas of textbook change which he directly attributes to petitioners:

> The biggest influence [on proclamations] I saw . . . was the NOW group . . . which gave a push from traditional stereotyping, et cetera. And that's probably the biggest change that I've seen in textbooks nationally. . . . They very definitely went in and asked for both traditional and untraditional roles . . . and so forth. . . . The second biggest influence . . . on books is probably from the fundamental, ultra-conservative viewpoint. There's no denying that nationally,

> they've had an influence. But nearly as large has probably been the ethnic groups and their concerns -- certain stories and certain [pictures] and everything that are no longer included in the literature. (Tape no. 45)

We can see from these data that it was possible for petitioners to have influence -- substantial influence -- on TEA personnel. This was most obviously manifested in the changes in proclamation wording that were discussed earlier (see 1980 case study data), changes that both Agency gentlemen active in the 1981 economics adoption acknowledged. In this case, however, this was the first time Texas had called for a textbook to be used in a course which actually combined two previous courses, one called economics and the other called free enterprise, and there were no earlier proclamations like this one.

Neither of the TEA gentlemen appear to have felt influenced by any sort of personal advances from petitioners. In fact, when I raised this question during my interview with Grigar, he answered my query in the following manner:

> There has been . . . an allegation [made by People for the American Way] that [during] that phase [when staff review books and determine what changes will be recommended], . . . staff has been influenced by protesters. . . . And that that [process of determining changes] is a closed negotiation -- that nobody gets behind closed doors. But [the results of those negotiations] are open records. (Tape no. 23)

A non-answer, perhaps, which does not allow speculation. It does not appear that petitioners' personal contacts with TEA personnel were directly influential on their (Agency staff) 1981 economics textbook decisions.

The data available on the Swift book strongly suggests that the petitioners' "Bills" and hearing testimony had no impact on Agency decisions to ask for publisher changes. Ultimately, the Agency did not remove any of the economics books selected by the STC, though four of them had been protested. These data indicate that, in the case of the Swift economics text, petitioners had little apparent influence short of directing those at the Agency to evaluate certain aspects of the book and render judgements as to the book's adherence to the proclamation.

State Board of Education members. The data regarding petitioner influence on State Board members are much richer. Board members were asked, in their survey, to indicate the extent to which they believed they were typically influenced by petitioners. At one extreme were two respondents, one who felt that petitioners had considerable influence in his choice of each book and another who felt some petitioner influence in his choice of each book. Five respondents (29%) replied that, typically, they knew of no petitioner influence on any of their textbook decisions. Two members (12%) believed that petitioners had considerable influence in their selection of certain books (probably those most fervently protested), and eight respondents (47%) believed that petitioners typically had some influence in certain textbook decisions they made. Looking at these data another way, we can see that two respondents (12%) typically realized petitioner influence on their decisions regarding each textbook, five (29%) typically realized no petitioner influence, and 10 (59%) typically realized some petitioner influence on decisions pertaining to certain textbooks. None of the interviewees mentioned this influence coming from petitioners' written arguments. This fact, coupled with the knowledge that virtually all SBE interviewees who discussed this question framed their responses in language referring to petitioners' appearance before the board, leads me to believe that much of this realization of petitioner influence resulted from petitioner testimony before the board.

Two members provide evidence of this in their discussions of petitioner influence below:

> SBE Member 1: Some of these people are so convincing [with] . . . material that they're talking about. . . .Some made constructive, convincing arguments . . . [and] I appreciated the fact that they had done their homework, too. Some of that influenced you . . .
> (Tape no. 20)

> SBE Member 2: I tried to listen to the petitioners and the important facts that they were presenting. The people who testified before the hearings were very helpful in most cases. (Tape no. 19)

> SBE Member 1: People are easy prey to listening and saying, "No, no. no. I don't like it." What they're looking at is not the substance [of the message], it's the person. Personality can have a lot to do with

> whether you like [the message] or not. But that's not fair . . . (Tape no. 20)

But with some board members, petitioners sometimes had a negative influence on their textbook attitudes. The same two members mentioned this possibility, as the following excerpts illustrate:

> SBE Member 1: After [a number of years], that thing [the board's textbook hearing] becomes routine. . . . I found it interesting, although I also [admit] . . . that some [petitioners] were pretty boring and repetitive. (Tape no. 20)

> SBE Member 2: [answering my question about the possibility of negative influence] That was true in some cases. I think there was a lot of collusion among the protesters. So many of them gave exactly the same objection, almost as if they had used mimeographed sheets to bring their objections there. And that got monotonous and it had a negative influence. (Tape no. 19)

With data suggesting that most SBE members were "conducive" to some form and some degree of petitioner influence, we can again look at the record to understand petitioner influence on SBE members. No minutes are kept of the board's textbook hearing, nor do we know how many members were present. The record does show that, of the three petitioners who requested to be heard, only two spoke, protesting three of five economics texts recommended for adoption. In addition to board members and petitioners, the hearing was attended by several members of the STC, a number of Agency personnel, and publishers representing the books being protested. In order to achieve an immediate success (as opposed to having their concerns addressed in future proclamation wording), influential protesters before the SBE would typically be defined as those able to convince the board to (1) remove a text, (2) direct the Commissioner to ask publishers to make content changes, or (3) convince enough members of the books' inadequacies to prevent it from receiving enough votes to be adopted.

Three economics books were protested before the board, and one of them was Swift's. The publishers with whom I spoke had little concern about petitioners' "damage" to their books before the board; indeed, they felt that earlier protests had made their book actually look good. I asked one of the Swift men if their book's protest before board worked as well as the one before the STC:

> It didn't come out as strongly as we had hoped because [Grusendorf's] time was cut short by the board. . . . He never really, before the board, made a strong commercial [for our book]. Grusendorf's complaint against economics books that year was taken, generally, against all economics books . . . He really, specifically hit a few books [four at the STC hearing and two at the SBE hearing], but it was kind of sweeping in terms of his criticism . . . as to how the state had set forth the proclamation [in the first place] . . . (Tape no. 52)

In terms, then, of the typical ways in which petitioners' influence might be recognized in board actions, this sounded to me like an acknowledgement that the Swift publishers had nothing to worry about.

Such was not the case. "During the time you're talking about," one of them explained, "you had a State Board which was controlled by emotionalists . . ." (Tape no. 13). The men from Swift *were* worried that year, not about the board acting against *their* book, but about what the board could do to *all* the economics books. A Swift publisher explains:

> [W]e worked Grusendorf as much as we could, until we learned that, of all the economics books, we were liked [by him and his group] as much, if not more, than anybody else, and that his comments would not be unique to our book but to the discipline and to the course call. [If he was convincing enough, the board could declare a non-adoption, rewrite the proclamation, and call for the books next year.] So in that regard, we did have some anxiety about [his testimony]. (Tape no. 52)

Commissioner Bynum believes that, with a few exceptions, petitioners do not *typically* have much influence on the State Board. He spoke of a count done at the Agency which showed that the board had removed only five books during his ten years at the TEA. He did not mention if the survey also tallied the times when a book might not have been adopted for lack of votes or how many books were changed at the request of the board. This subject of the board requesting content changes was part of our interview:

> Commissioner Bynum: . . . the State Board has no authority to make changes [in textbooks]; only the Commissioner had that power . . .
> Interviewer: But . . . the State Board *could* ask *you* to call for changes, couldn't they?
> Commissioner Bynum: Well they could *ask* me to, yes, but I don't remember any particular changes that were asked for of any significance other than if they found an error that staff hadn't found. There were not . . . any what I would call substantive changes I was ever requested to make. (Tape no. 45)

Whether they might be deemed "substantive" changes or not, the board did request the Commissioner to have content corrections and changes made in two of the three economics books that had been protested at their hearing. Two days after the hearing, at its regular November meeting, the board, with four members absent, adopted all of the economics books as recommended by the Commissioner with their exceptions noted (Texas Education Agency, 1982, January, Appendix B).

Scrutinizing the protests against the two books for which the board requested content changes, I could find no evidence that the changes requested by the board (the addition of some charts and content changes related to labor, labor unions, and right-to-work laws) reflected specific petitioner concerns. However, "off the record" (which forces me not to cite the interview from which the following excerpt is taken), one of those in attendance at the board hearing claimed that those changes were a result of testimony the board heard from the Swift petitioner, Kent Grusendorf:

> What . . . happened was, he had talked very esoterically for about twenty minutes and then, the last five or ten minutes, he just kind of picked on this Addison-Wesley book for not including enough about right-to-work and people who were not involved with labor unions. Well, *that* was something the State Board could understand . . . As a result of his statement, there was a lot of controversy that that book may be pulled off [of the list of five books] as not meeting the proclamaton. What he had done, with a couple of minor comments, was stirred-up a major controversy . . . And it was not the major focus of his argument, but nobody understood . . . the rest of it.

The point being made above, as an introduction to the review of this section, is that the record suggests no connection between petitioners' protests and changes requested in economics textbooks by the board. Therefore, we are led to believe that those who carried their protests to the board hearing had no discernible influence on the board's economics textbook decisions. However, an eye witness at the hearing claimed that testimony *was* given regarding labor unions and right-to-work faults in one of the two texts in which the board requested content changes. This information casts doubt over the apparent absence of petitioner influence and suggests, instead, that the testimony of that petitioner may have prompted the board's decision to call for content changes. There is, then, a case to be argued for petitioner influence on SBE textbook decisions pertaining to two 1981 economics texts. (No changes were requested of the others, including Swift's book.) Survey and interview data reveal that most board members typically realized some petitioner influence, and that this came as a result of their attention to petitioners at their hearing. Several interviewees spoke of the otherwise general, conceptual complaints Grusendorf, et al. had about the proclamation wording as it had been interpreted by several of the publishers. Perhaps my "off the record" information is correct in that, when Grusendorf's complaints were directed toward something the board could "understand," he was listened to more carefully and the board could became convinced that some content changes were needed.

Publisher Influence

State Textbook Committee members. Asked to identify what they felt was the publishers' primary emphasis when presenting their books (what I called their major selling point), only three of fourteen STC respondents (21%) chose "adherence to the proclamation." As the following excerpts make clear, Swift's publishers did not see this as something to stress, partly because there were ambiguities in their book, and partly because it was a criterion rather easily met by most publishers, regardless of how close the adherence actually was:

Publisher 1: We viewed [the proclamation guidelines] rather carefully.

> We tried to [stress] . . . the *essential* elements defined by the proclamation guidelines. So, obviously, there were ambiguities; there were points which were not perfectly clear, but we thought we understood -- in the main -- what was desired. They were not [a] perfect [match] by any means, but we thought we understood what the issues were. (Tape no. 39)
>
> Publisher 2: At that point in time, the proclamation was not extremely critical [they have since become more critical with the state's recent establishing of the "essential elements" of curriculum]. Publishers . . . would correlate their materials to the proclamation but, simply by . . . having a correlation kind of dismissed that [adherence to the proclamation] as as a significant concern. . . . You know, our book meets the criteria [sic] for content, and here's a correlation giving you page references as to where the specific topics called-for are presented in our program. And that usually tended to satisfy [STC members]. Now, the fact of the matter was that, of all the economics textbooks, [*Hard Choices*] . . . most closely fit the Texas curriculum framework because it did have Texas authorship, it was written in conjunction with the development of the curriculum guides for that course, and was really one of the stronger suits of the program. (Tape no. 52)

Five members of the 1981 STC (36% of the respondents) felt that publishers tended to stress their books' "organization and presentation of content." One interviewee, when asked why that criterion had been selected, recalled how publishers brought subject-area experts to their presentations to convince members and advisors of the strength of their book's construction *vis a vis* the field as a whole (Tape no. 25). Another was able to give a somewhat more specific rationale:

> [Publishers] would talk about how [their book] was organized and how it flowed; how it had one chapter per week; how each chapter was broken-down into five lessons; how it stressed vocabulary . . . Not so much content, but everything *around* content. (Tape no. 38)

Perhaps some might interpret such a focus as one on pedagogical strength (i.e., how easy it would be to use the book in the classroom). In fact, the criterion selected by the six other respondents (43%) was "pedagogical strength." Actually, one of the Swift men talked about this criterion as being one of the most important, especially for STC advisors:

> Advisory groups [for] the State Textbook Committee tend to look specifically at how the program would work in the classroom. The emphasis is largely on teacher materials. At that time, the course was just called for and was soon to be implemented . . ., so it was particularly a worthwhile criteria [sic] in evaluating the books. . . . I think [they had] a real outlook in terms of the approach of the book: if it will work in the classroom; if they're comfortable with it; are there activities and materials enough to adequately address a variety

> of kids' needs in their classroom; is the reading level appropriate -- those sorts of considerations. (Tape no. 52)

Survey data show that, in slightly different proportions, publishers were stressing the same criteria important to the textbook decisionmakers involved with initial selection: the way content was organized and presented, the book's strength as a tool, and its adherence to the proclamation. Each of the Swift publishers also mentioned that they stressed the book's Texas authorship (at least two of the other economics books bid had Texas authors or co-authors as well) and that it was a no-hype (not "flashy"), carefully-written textbook.

Textbook committee members were split evenly regarding publisher influence, with half saying they were not influenced in any of their decisions and the other half recognizing some publisher influence pertaining to each book they selected (29%) or certain books they selected (21%). One of those not influenced shared following thoughts:

> We took those books and studied them. . . . Some of those [publishers] are just salesmen . . ., so we just had to take the books on face value. . . . If I [could have] been swayed by a salesman, I would have been, because I really liked some of them. But I felt other books were better. [One publisher had books for adoption in our field] and not a single representative visited us from that company, and we selected . . . those books. So that right there is proof. (Tape no. 27)

Another interviewee was somewhat at a loss for words when asked to elaborate on his response that he had recognized no publisher influence. The following exchange then took place:

> Interviewer: Can I interpret that [survey response] to mean that, in spite of whether or not you learned things from their presentations [he said he had] . . ., that you felt capable of making your own mind up, in spite of the information that they provided you with?
> STC Member: Absolutely so. No doubt in my mind. Right! (Tape no. 25)

Agreeing that their textbook decisions (member and advisors) would have been basically the same without publishers' participation and/or information, a third respondent added:

> I think one has to look at it from this point of view: Every publisher coming in, you will assume they are going to present the strengths of their book. . . . So, if you take the perspective that all those presentations are pointing to the positive nature of what they see their book being, one has to keep an open mind. . . . and understand what you're hearing with a certain amount of skepticism and a grain of salt. It's *also* important to realize that when these presentations are made, [they are] . . . made to a committee [making it less likely that influencing one member would make a significant difference]. (Tape no. 34)

It would seem that this factor of presenting only the positive aspect of one's books was precisely the thing that worked to influence the other respondents, regardless of what circumstances led to their being influenced. Of the seven respondents who recognized publishers' influence, three (42%) identified it as resulting from the formal, "Round Robin" presentations. One of the publishers (Tape no. 13) believed that there are two ingredients needed to get selected in Texas: a good product and good people to present it. The credibility of the publisher representing the product was discussed at length by another Swift publisher. He gave examples of how this credibility might be highlighted during the "Round Robin":

> The value of credibility cannot be understated in the whole scheme of things. There's a real, intense desire to represent one's company, and himself, as the most professional person. In other words, you can believe me because I'm *telling* you this. The general spirit in this carries [through] everything, from the way a publisher dresses to the way we present information -- we want it to be printed as opposed to xeroxed . . . With the State Textbook Committee, where you're meeting them on a short schedule, you're restricted in the amount of time to spend with them . . . Using those mechanisms as best we can, we certainly *do* try to [have] influence. . . . (Tape no. 52)

Another of Swift's people alluded to one of those "mechanisms" -- presenting specific information to decisionmakers -- as he talked of why he felt positive about being influential during formal presentations before STC members and advisors:

> In a sense it's like teaching. You're not totally insensitive as you watch the people with whom you're working. You're not totally insensitive to whether your message is being effectively received. . . . After the presentations, the kinds of questions I was getting and the kind of reception I was getting led me to believe that it was far more than courtesy. . . . There were a couple of times that I felt that we really hadn't gotten our message across because the people maybe had already made up their minds. But for the most part, I felt that the situation was pretty open. . . . that, if they hadn't looked at [our book] carefully enough, they were going to go back and really look at it, and make the comparisons that [we] suggested that they make [e.g., that it had a fresh approach and a logical flow]. (Tape no. 39)

Sometimes, these presentations were "personalized":

> Publisher: The textbook committee is oftentimes looking for rather personal and individualized sorts of concerns. . . . [later, he offered the publishers' informal dinner party orientation held for new STC members as one example of how these personal concerns are learned] [During that gathering, we try to find out] where's the soft place to poke. You tell me what you want to hear and by god I can tell you! So there's a lot of time spent trying to determine exactly what it is that

> this individual is looking for and whether or not Ive got it and how to tell him that. (Tape no. 52)

> STC Member: [who exercised skepticism during the "Round Robins"] I have a suspicion that the publishers probably . . . did some background checks on individuals . . . on the textbook committee . . . And if I was a good . . . publisher trying to sell my book, I think it would behoove me to know a little bit about the person who I'm talking to: What are their particular interests and desires and things that make them take note of how things are done? And maybe because of my background [re subject specialty], they would tend to focus on certain things they've heard me say are important about a book. . . . So they may have very well [pause] structured their presentation to my committee along the lines that they may have felt were going to be the things I wanted to know about. (Tape no. 34)

Besides the formal presentations, there were other ways in which textbook decisions were influenced. One respondent (Survey no. 186) indicated that publishers had influenced her decisions indirectly by influencing her advisors. Again, explanation comes from a publisher speaking of the importance of STC advisory committees:

> In any group-dynamic situation, when you present to a group of six or seven people, there's going to be someone there who will influence people. And obviously, you want the support of that person. . . . If I

> look at [an advisory] committee of six people, and I can devote two hours to somebody, I want it to be the right somebody . . . [He picked-up on this "important advisor" later, adding that]
> [A] lot of the support and strength that the textbook committee members lend to their cause goes above and beyond the books. Some of it is generated from their advisors in that this is *the* best book in the category, and if this book is listed, that's the book this school district wants to purchase. . . . [T]hat [is the] sort of desire to be effective with [advisor's] selections they carry to the textbook [balloting]. (Tape no. 52)

The second STC respondent who selected "other" in acknowledging publisher influence offered reasoning which apparently lies in almost total contradiction to the publisher's explanation offered above. Her observation was that

> the [textbook] representatives act as a safeguard against one advisor or school district employee dominating the group decision. They are not intimidated by each other or any school employee.
> (Survey no. 188, item 11)

I can only presume that some situation must have arisen in which a publisher spoke in support of this member when her advisors -- and the district curriculum directors who selected them (as she noted was the case with her) -- appeared to have their minds set on another book/series.

Given the information offered by the publisher above, the people she feared might "dominate" the decision may have actually been convinced to do so by one of the other publishers involved.

Finally, two respondents (29%) noted that publishers influenced them through personal contacts. The likelihood of influence resulting from "wining and dining" was little, in the opinion of one Swift employee responding to my question about the number of times some of their major competitors had contacted STC members:

> No, I was not worried about it. . . . [W]hat was happening was that the influence was washing [he had spoken earlier about how persons from each publishing company were busy wining and dining]. This person would come, and, *whatever* they promised . . ., or whatever they may have intimated about a promise -- I've heard stories about their [pause] intimating that they would give a person [on the STC] a job. But you know, if [one company] would do it, all of them would do it. (Tape no. 39)

One of his colleagues, however, believed differently:

> [T]hese are people like anybody else making decisions, and . . . a lot of their decision is based [on] a lot more than simply what they find, or don't find, in a textbook. That year, there was a lot of entertaining involved, and a lot of personal associations were established which, . . . I can safely say, had an impact on whether or not a committee of

advisors supported one's textbook. (Tape no. 52)

One of my interviewees from that year had selected "personal contacts" in response to where publishers proved influential. We can see, in the following response, a textbook committee member busy attending advisory meetings and listening carefully to the specific information being presented by each publisher. There is nothing, however, to suggest anything spurious about this tale of "wining and dining":

> I tried to make every [advisory] committee meeting [that I] could, and if it was a meal, that was even better. So the more [you] saw certain publishers, . . . the more you got to be friends with them. . . . The more you saw them, the more they were able to influence your decision. . . . I think what it did, basically, was make me look at their material twice. If I liked [certain publishers] and saw them a lot, and they kept bringing back new ideas of what things to look at, then I'd go back to my [advisory] committee, or the committee -- because we had all met with them -- would go back and give [the book] a second look. It never got to a point where we did something because we liked that publisher better than another, but they were able to encourage you to look at or see things from a different perspective. (Tape no. 38)

We can see, in review, that half of the 14 respondents from this group were not aware of any publisher influence in their selection of textbooks. Essentially, they believed that they chose the best books because they were obviously the best and not because they were told so by the books' representatives. This is the view of former Commissioner Bynum, who offered the following response to my question about whether publishers influence members of the STC:

> No. I think their *product* does, but I don't think *they* make that much difference. [I asked if he believe textbook decisions would be the same without publishers' active participation] I don't think they would vary. . . . The best wares would come to the top most of the time, so I don't think there's a great deal of salesmanship involved. (Tape no. 45)

And while half the textbook committee respondents might agree with the Commissioner's assessment, the other half admits to realizing some publisher influence as a factor in some of their textbook decisions. There was mention made by two respondents, who claimed *not* to have been influenced, that they *may* have been *negatively* influenced, a factor which complicates the issue at hand. Both told stories of how some publisher had said something at a presentation which, in the words of one, "completely erased them from my list" (Tape no. 25). However, the data speak plainly of the way in which half the committee recognized certain of their textbook decisions being made with the help of information they received from publishers; specific information which caused them to take a more serious, comparative look at some of the books. Mindfully prepared beforehand, this information was shared by publishers at formal and informal meetings with STC members and their advisors. Swift's publishers describe this preparation of special information:

> What we did was take all of the competitors' books and outline their strengths [and] make our best guess at who would be adopted. And we guessed it perfectly. There was no error in our evaluation of what the strengths of our competitors were. . . . I knew *exactly* which ones were going to be adopted. There wasn't any doubt in my mind. I knew, for example, what the slick stuff . . . would do and I knew what the sales forces were. And I knew what would appeal to the constituency. (Tape no. 39)

Another publisher describes the value of knowing who your closest competitors are in a textbook campaign. It is from the knowledge of one's competitors that this comparative, specialized information for STC members and advisors comes:

> It's kind of a matter of compare and contrast. [You tried] to objectively identify *your* product's strengths and consequently present from our areas of strength and try to capitalize on the other programs' perceived weaknesses as we evaluated it. . . . [We needed to learn] what [our] chances were, what [we] wanted to hype, what [we] needed to play down, and that sort of thing. (Tape no. 52)

As for the Swift book, the publishers seem to be in agreement that their book's greatest strengths were: (1) its Texas authorship; (2) its *substantive* quality compared to some of the "slick stuff"; and (3) its publication by a small, Texas publisher "in your own backyard" (as one publisher told the committee members). The Swift publishers believe that their "information influencing" was responsible for the book's receiving such a strong first ballot showing (eleven votes), for Swift was not equally competitive with larger firms in the "wining and dining" department.

Texas Education Agency personnel. "In the case of the State Board and the Education Agency, [establishing our credibility and professionalism] is something that's very nebulous [and] that's built over a long period of time" (Tape no. 52). This seems an appropriate statement with which to begin this section, for, as the above publisher points out, the sort of influence publishers hope to have with TEA personnel is decidedly different than the influence they have during the initial decision phase.

Publishers whose materials have made it this far in any adoption can expect several things to happen. First, they can expect their books to receive a thorough reviewing by Agency staff, during which such things as editorial mistakes, outdated or incorrect data, and inappropriate pictures or illustrations will be discovered. Second, they can expect their books to be scrutinized against the proclamation guidelines in a manner quite different than might have been the case with STC members and advisors. This difference is due, in part, to the fact that Agency personnel are required to investigate all petitioner accusations of proclamation violations, whereas initial decisionmakers may not have closely attended to each specific petitioner allegation. Also, while those who combined to make the initial textbook decisions used a number of criteria in their evaluations, Agency staff really use but one: the proclamation. Thus, not only do they conduct a more focused evaluation on a comparatively small number of texts) but, as the authors of the state's guidelines, they are likely to read and interpret proclamations differently than did those conducting the initial textbook evaluations. Third, publishers can expect to be asked to make any number of changes in their books, some of which may prove impossible (e.g., removing certain words from a dictionary).

In the case of the 1981 economics books, it is impossible to know the problems and inaccuracies in those books which were discovered during the first or second textbook decision phase. Those who evaluate the books during the initial decision phase are encouraged to note all editorial errors and questionable content and to supply that information to TEA staff for their review. We don't know, then, who was responsible for asking Swift to update its book's statistics and to replace some of its pictures and illustrations with more appropriate ones. And while the record shows that a number of "show cause" hearings were held by the Commissioner which resulted in the removal of 15 books and two kindergarten systems, there is no reason to believe that such hearings occurred regarding the economics books. It appears, simply, that changes were requested and publishers agreed to have them made. All economics books initially selected were recommended, by the Commissioner, to the State Board.

But what, if anything, does this tell us about publisher influence on TEA decisionmakers? To begin, it tells us that both of these groups shared the respect of the other as they operated within a system which had to be perceived as fair by both sides. The Agency knew pretty much what to expect from the publishers and the publishers, in turn, knew what to expect from the Agency. Mutual respect and fair participation appear to have been key ingredients in establishing reciprocal credibility -- useful to the publishers, perhaps, as a tacit form of influence. Commissioner Bynum broached the topic in this way:

> I probably knew two or three [publishers] person[ally] from before I was there [at the TEA], and I'm not the sort of person that anyone gets real close to anyway. I think [publishers] basically respected me . . . in that I would deal with [textbook adoption] in a fair and honest way. (Tape no. 45)

The publishers hoped to project the same fairness and honesty. One way this was accomplished was to create a dependable name for the company, itself. One Swift publisher gave me a simple but important way in which this can be done:

> The Agency requires us to file certain papers at certain times. It's important for us to do that correctly, not only in terms of what it means for our ability to *compete* in the state, but as a reflection that we do what [they] ask us to and we do what we say we will.
> (Tape no. 52)

But perhaps more important than establishing the credibility of one's company was establishing one's own credibility as a professional in the elhi textbook publishing industry and a professional colleague of educators working at the Agency.

Louis Grigar, who oversaw the Agency's review of the 1981 economics books, believes that publishers can oftentimes be a valuable resource to TEA personnel. His comments, below, provide an understanding of the mutual respect and trust that exists between publishers and those at the Agency:

> Yes, publishers and their representatives do call on us. I . . . would be quite upset if someone accused me of unethically dealing with publishers. If there's one thing that *I* feel very strongly [about] . . ., and I think I can say this without qualification, I've never, in *my* experience in all these 19 years, . . . had a publisher or a publisher's representative, in *any way*, try to influence my position relative to textbooks and the proclamation. They do give us information, like anybody else, in several respects: One, they give us feedback on how teachers, out there, are reacting to materials . . . Two,[they give us information] about what the State Board ought to be requesting in the textbook proclamation. Not just in terms of content, but format, supportive materials, structure of text materials, and so on. So from that point, they are another source of information about what should the State Board, *a la* the proclamation as written, include. And they tell you what will sell [and] what will not sell, because you can ask

> for something that nobody wants and you've not accomplished your purpose of supporting instruction. So that's very legitimate. . . . [also, when national trends in the discipline begin to appear], we can . . . try these ideas out with the publishers . . .
>
> So their concern is to sell, true. Their concern is to give what is perceived by our State Board as the best they can come up with, and so it's a communication that way also. (Tape no. 23)

These interview data are intended to help establish the sense of respect, credibility, and professional collegiality between publishers and Agency staff. Other interview data also provide intimations, though nothing more, of one way in which this relationship might be beneficial when the time comes for Agency textbook reviews.

During an "off the record" conversation with someone at the TEA, I was told that, at times, decisions are made *not* to ask a publisher to make one change or another which might involve something quite costly, such as re-writing the way in which some concept was taught or re-sequencing the activities found in a spelling series, for example. Interviews with 1981 STC members supported this contention. Two members (representing two different disciplines) reported finding places in books where, for example, concepts were poorly explained or activities were old and outdated. The books were good, overall, and both members eventually voted for them -- but the books could have been strengthened without going through a major rewrite.

These committee members learned, however, that improvements such as those were the sorts of textbook changes that the Agency did not request; that Agency staff were interested only in editorial-type recommended changes from STC members and advisors. And both STC members were told this by publishers. Apparently there are professional judgements made, at the Agency, to not ask for some textbook changes which would prove costly for publishers without resulting in significant improvement to the book(s). (Or perhaps one reason such changes were ignored was that they could not be made in time for the book to be distributed.) If, as the above data suggest, TEA staff take the *costs* of textbook changes into account when making their decisions, then this must be considered a form of publisher influence on Agency textbook decisions.

In brief review, there are no interview data indicating any type of conscious, overt, planned actions on the part of publishers to influence those at the TEA who pass judgement on textbooks during this second decision phase. Data indicate a mutual respect and collegiality existing between Agency staff and publishers resulting, I believe, in benefits to both groups. For the publishers, this relationship may prove helpful at times when they present arguments during "show cause" hearings. Data from STC participants intimate that some textbook changes which might improve the books, are not requested by TEA personnel. If this is true, it would, indeed, be an observable example of publisher influence on Agency personnel.

State Board of Education members. Members were asked to select the response which best described the extent to which they felt their textbook decisions were typically influenced by publishers taking part in the Texas textbook procedure. One of the seventeen respondents claimed that publishers had some influence on each textbook he selected, and four others (24%) believed that publishers had some influence on their decisions regarding certain books. The majority of board members (12 respondents - 71%) believed that none of their textbook decisions were typically influenced by publishers.

Two of the 1981 SBE members interviewed were quite conscious of publisher influence as a factor in textbook decisions; a consciousness which allowed them to be certain that they had never "fallen prey," as their comments illustrate:

> SBE Member 1: From [my] very first [board] meeting . . ., we were warned and advised to not have any collusion, any dealings with the publishers, not be amenable to any of their suggestions or salesmanship tactics. And we were very careful to not let the publishers influence us. (Tape no. 19)

> SBE Member 2: I tried not to let them [influence me] because you have that conflict of interest there. At the same time, I really knew the book that I wanted . . . I made friends with a lot of [publishers], but I tried to keep away from [allowing those friendships to influence me] because that would be unfair to the children. (Tape no. 20)

These data indicate that there was an undeniable awareness on the part of some board members that they were liable to be influenced by publishers yet consciously refused to allow that to happen. There is little information to indicate that board members thoroughly read publishers "Answers" to the Bills of Particulars, and interview data suggests that, as a group, publishers seldom defended petitioners' allegations before the board (no minutes or transcripts are kept of these hearings), though board members were free to quiz them. Where publishers had a certain degree of control over the initial decision group (i.e., longer, more intense personal and professional contacts with decisionmakers and their ability to use carefully prepared information) and some degree of mutual, collegial respect with the second group, they had little advantage with the State Board. What could publishers do before a body of policymakers who, in the words of one respondent, "could take [a book] off [a list of recommended books] because they damn-well pleased" (Tape no. 45)? Below, a publisher comments on the hearings before the board:

> [STC members and their advisors] give us [their] time and we take advantage of it. With the State Board, we don't have that openness. They are clearly the controlling body. They have us hearts and minds in terms of pocketbooks, investments, et cetera. So we're much more subservient to the board than we are to the textbook committee. There's always some anxiety because we're not in control of that situation. (Tape no. 52)

The board's textbook hearing was not a comfortable situation for the Swift publishers because so much was at stake and the stakes were, by that time, largely beyond a publisher's control. It was still imperative, though, for publishers to present themselves as high-quality professionals at those hearings. One of the Swift men was explaining why publishers so often stand on their written responses at textbook hearings. His rationale was related to the rules of order, noting that, by offering rebuttal to a petitioner, you are giving that person the last word before the decisionmakers. When publishers rested on their written "Answers," *they* had the last word. Furthermore, this action of resting on their written responses created an important *image*, in this publisher's mind, of professionalism:

> [T]he whole professionalism thing. [he then talks as though addressing the board] "I've got people much sharper than who I am . . . I've called in all my wizards that work with economics . . . and they've prepared these responses. They know much more than I, and I would rest on their remarks to you." It's an easy out for publishers, but it doesn't open them up to some blind attack that they can't [defend because the petitioner had the last word]. (Tape no. 52)

In the minds of some board members, however,this professionalism displayed by publishers might have been working against them, as indicated by the following board member's excerpt:

> I was impressed by the professional way most [publishers] handled themselves. Of course, those publishers' representatives are very

> astute people and they handled themselves quite well. In most instances, I thought their answers were valid, but I tried not to let that influence my decision, because I realized that they *were* professionals and had the advantage over the lay people who were presenting the other side of the case. (Tape no. 19)

Given these SBE data, it is not surprising to learn that 71% of board members were not typically influenced by publishers. Publishers had little going for them at this decision phase: They had not had the opportunity to "work" the board members over time as they did the STC, and they were not dealing with educators -- who they knew best and whose profession they shared. (Many publishers are former teachers and continue to take active part in national educational organizations.) Before the board, they could only present themselves as credible professionals and hope that SBE members would place their trust largely in the textbook decisions of the two previous groups. It was this very professionalism exhibited by publishers which prevented some board members from consciously allowing themselves to be influenced.

Serving as State Textbook Committee Members and Advisors

When asked why they had been selected to serve on the 1981 STC, 13 respondents (93%) answered that they had been selected because of their "experience and performance as an educator as well as my professional activities." The remaining member, a mathematics teacher, wrote: " I have no idea why I was selected" (Survey no. 191, item 4). (Note: Five subject areas receiving new textbooks in this adoption related to the discipline of mathematics.)

Interviews with those at the Agency shed some light on how persons were recommended and finally selected for service on the textbook committee. Louis Grigar described the role of Agency staff in this process as follows:

> We are a part of the process of identifying individuals for consideration. And we have, in the past, been asked to submit [names of] individuals who meet certain criteria [to the Commissioner] . . . We do not, in *any way*, have any say so in their selection. [after several digressions, he recounted the criteria] First of all, their expertise relative to the discipline or the subject being adopted, which means, in part, their own academic background [and] their teaching experience in the subject: . . . How long they've been teaching, their commitment to the profession, their participation in the profession, et cetera, which gives them a broader perspective on the subject that they're representing. Those would be our primary considerations . . . We'd like to . . . have some personal, first-hand knowledge of their judgement, if we can. . . . That's much lower [on a list of criteria], but it's a peripheral criteria [sic] because these people, now, are making judgements primarily in a subject area like economics, but they [also] have to make judgements, along with the advice of their advisors, on all *other* areas. (Tape no. 23)

Regarding the non-administrative STC positions, Grigar was looking for successful, veteran educators with professional ties and commitments who had the ability to make sound judgements concerning a variety of textbooks outside of their subject area. His list of candidates eventually had to clear the possible veto of their local superintendents, "who made a judgement whether they wanted that person, for whatever reason, to serve [or not to serve] on the State Textbook Committee" (Tape no. 23). These lists of possible members would then be sent to the Commissioner.

Commissioner Bynum recalled what he looked for in the list of nominees he received from his staff:

> Number one, when they gave me the list of people . . ., I looked for geographical and ethnic [balance], and then I looked for the subject or content area. Frankly, if I could do it on a geographic map, I looked, because I would not, personally, know very many of them. I looked at [their] quality from things I knew about their schools: Were they from schools that had good instructional programs? Did pupils achieve? Given [that] I was meeting the ethnicity and geographical area [requirements]. Those things. (Tape no. 45)

Each State Textbook Committee also had administrators, usually two superintendents, serving as members. Grigar explained that "Others on staff, higher level generally [e.g., directors and deputy commissioners], will deal with nominating administrative types" for STC service (Tape no. 23). Commissioner Bynum describes the type of superintendent he liked to have on the STC below:

> Primarily, . . . having been in the business long [more than 30 years], I knew [those administrators] who were the instructional type versus the management type and I looked more toward the people who I thought spent a great deal more time in the instruction area as superintendent. . . . Most superintendents in the state are more involved in the management, the day-to-day running [of the district] and they hire the instructional [personnel] . . . They're more worried about the money than any of the teachers . . . I was more concerned about [selecting] the superintendent who I identified as being very active in the instructional program. If I couldn't find one, I wanted to go to an assistant superintendent who was very involved in it.
> (Tape no. 45)

These data combine to suggest that the 1981 STC was comprised of experienced educators who were committed to their profession. The information contained in the short biographies of each STC member provided to the board reveals that each had strong career backgrounds and was (or had been) active in state and/or local educational organizationa (Texas Education Agency, 1981, May). The two superintendents were seen by the Commissioner to be men who cared about instructional matters, and the teachers and supervisors were believed to be capable of making professional judgements in a variety of content areas. As one STC member said:

> People recognize your ability to make decisions and evaluate things and analyze information and make recommendations based upon sound judgement. At least I would *like* to think that's why I was recommended, let's put it that way. (Tape no. 34)

Just as important, from the commissioner's perspective, was the geographic and ethnic balance of the committee. The record shows that the 1981 committee was, indeed, geographically balanced (as for ethnic balance, it is impossible to say anything more than three members have what appear to be Hispanic surnames). Ten women and five men served, representing a range of from 6-38 years of experience, and averaging nineteen years of educational experience.

The importance of this collection of educators to the selection and eventual adoption of Texas textbooks cannot be understated. I asked SBE members to describe the criteria used to select those educators. Of the twelve who responded, eleven (92%) included some comment about experience and expertise in their answers. Somewhat representative of this focus would be the response which read: "those who ultimately use the books" (Survey no. 293, item 12).

An understanding of the criteria used in selecting STC members was not all the board members had; they were also given veto power over those candidates nominated from their congressional district. As Grigar points out:

> I'm sure that [board members] . . . are concerned that whoever

> represents their district would be the kind of individual they would want representing them. I'm sure that that was [part of the reason for providing names of nominees to SBE members. In effect, it was our way of saying]: We don't want you, the board member, to be represented by some kook out there [laughs] that we, somehow, picked-up, and would prove to be an embarassment to you. Or, you [might] have your own reason for [removing the nominee], or you may know somebody you'd much prefer on some personal basis.
> (Tape no. 23)

One of those interviewed from the 1981 State Board supported all of the information presented above. He spoke of the board's reliance on the work of the STC in selecting texts and how, whenever he received a letter from the Commissioner informing him of a STC nominee from his district, he called the local superintendent and/or someone who knew the person well enough to provide him with some background. "We do our homework [on those nominees]," he assured me (Tape no. 20).

Textbook committee members were asked to identify the major criteria used in their selection of textbook advisors. Six (43%) made mention of experience and/or subject expertise, with "experience and respected in their content area" being a representative response (Survey no. 187, item 13). The following is an example of how one member relied upon personal, trusted friends to help her select advisors in some areas:

> For the most part, [I selected the advisors] myself. But there were

> some textbooks and fields [which she later identified as mainly vocational and industrial arts] that I knew absolutely nothing about, so I had to rely on some other people . . . personal friends that I had confidence in to help me in selecting some of the [advisors]. (Tape no. 27)

This STC member, then, personally selected each of her advisors, with help in some areas.

The remaining eight respondents (57%) noted, on the other hand, that they either had nothing to do with the selection of their advisors or that they were assisted in that task by administrators or supervisors within their districts. A representative survey response from this group would be: "With the help of my administration, advisors were chosen on the basis of professional expertise from diverse teaching assignments" (Survey no. 186, item 13). Below are examples of how this worked:

> STC Member 1: I went to the consultants in the district for each area that was under adoption. I asked them to chair the [advisory] committee and asked them to select the best teachers in the field to work with them. So I selected the chairmen and they selected their committees. (Tape no. 38)

> STC Member 2: I selected the people who served on my [subject area] advisory committee. I purposely selected people that were not all . . . employees [in this school district]. Then, when I went outside my own

> discipline [and grade-level training, he added later] . . ., I went to [district] coordinators . . . and asked them to recommend, to me, . . . five or six people who could be my . . . committees. (Tape no. 34)

> STC Member 3: For the actual selection of the advisors . . ., I went directly to . . . our superintendent. He, in turn, put me in contact with another individual who, in turn, got all of [our district curriculum] supervisors from the various disciplines that I would be representing. And we had a gigantic meeting . . . These are all, of course, administrative people. And they, in turn, provided me with the names of people they felt were the most qualified, as far as they were concerned, in the field. [He went on to explain that those people became the chairpersons of his advisory groups and selected their own committee members.] (Tape no. 25)

We can see, from these data, that in the eyes of the STC members, subject-area expertise appears to have been a dominant criterion for advisor selection. The basis for this statement rests in the fact that "expertise" was a key criterion of those who selected their own advisors, and that those who turned to supervisors and administrators were asking trusting in the judgement of subject specialists to identify others (teachers and non-teachers) who were outstanding in that particular discipline or teaching area.

Decisionmakers as Representatives

In the section to follow, data are presented which will allow speculations to be made as to the representational style and representational legitimacy of textbook decisions made by members of the two large decision groups, the STC and SBE.

State Textbook Committee Members

An important criterion of membership in this group was subject-area background, that is, the committee as a whole had to reflect the particular knowledge of all subject areas for which books were being adopted. The record shows that each of the 31 subject areas to receive new books was represented by at least one expert on the STC. One member represented our focus area of economics (a free enterprise curriculum consultant). Of course, each committee member had an advisory committee to evaluate and recommend economics textbooks. Before discussing their advisors, we will first look at the individual experts on the committee.

Committee members were asked to describe the extent to which their textbook evaluations would have compared with those of a group of randomly selected Texas educators in their subject area. The question was intended to reveal whether or not these members believed that they had a different perspective on textbooks or whether they believed, perhaps, that participating in the procedure might have given them some advantage over their peers in recognizing better books. If they believed that their decisions would have been different, these factors might have been revealed, and the issue of representational legitimacy would take on proportionately greater importance.

Just one respondent from the 1981 STC believed that his decisions would have been considerably different from those of his subject-area peers, and another felt that her decisions would have been somewhat different. Three respondents (21%) chose "don't know": One of these was a superintendent who had identified his area of expertise as "instruction" (Survey no. 195, item 4), and another was the mathematics teacher mentioned earlier who answered "I have no idea . . ." to the question of " . . . why you were selected as a member of the State Textbook Committee" (Survey no. 191). The third was an eighteen year veteran in the field of theatre arts. Perhaps she, like the reading specialists from the 1980 case study, was unsure of the likeness between her textbook selections and those of her peers because, as I understand it, theatre arts, like reading, has its own "camps" of instructional preference (e.g., the Stanislavsky method).

Nine respondents (64%) believed that their textbook decisions would have been "virtually identical" to random groups of their subject-area peers. Several of these 1981 specialists offer their explanations for this virtual identity below:

> STC Member 1: I think so. I think the process really works, and I don't care what type of influence or anything any group had over us.
> (Tape no. 38)
>
> STC Member 2: Speaking from experience, . . . [our school district] has

> such a tremendously large student population, and . . . my advisors [represented] the whole district [and they all] had to vote on this. . . . We had many, many afternoons of discussion and we heard ideas from every section of town. (Tape no. 25)
>
> STC Member 3: I think so. [There are numbers] of teachers from across the state who have *chosen* the same textbooks to use in their departments. (Tape no. 27)

It is apparent that each respondent has a different rationale for believing that her or his textbook decisions would have been virtually identical to those made by a randomly-selected peer group of subject specialists. These rationale include the system's design, a broad, user-information base, and the number of specialists using the books (of course, only those books initially selected by the STC can be used by educators throughout the state). Nevertheless, the interviewees believe that their decisions are unquestionably representative of their subject-area peers. Both these and the survey response data indicate that, in the minds of textbook committee members, there was a high degree of representational legitimacy between the books they selected as subject specialists and those which would have been chosen by a randomly-selected group of their subject-specialist peers.

Seven hundred and seventy-four advisors (an average of 52 advisors per member) aided STC members in their selection of books during the initial phase of the 1981 selection and adoption procedure. When asked to describe how these advisors reported their evaluative information to their STC member, one STC respondent said that all advisors presented a prioritized list of textbooks they had reviewed and another said that each advisory group was asked to provide both a consensus-based prioritized list as well as the conflicts surrounding those books to their STC member. Two respondents (14%) asked advisors not to reach consensus or prioritize their choices but to present the STC member with data on each book reviewed. The majority (12 respondents - 71%), however, asked advisors to reach a consensus and present a prioritized list of the best books they reviewed.

One textbook committee member describes, below, how he had organized this collection of advisors' information:

> I asked [my advisory committees] to fill-out one of these reporting sheets for each book. [He described it later as a "very simple form" including categories for adherence to the proclamation, comparative rank, strengths, and weaknesses.] . . . I had one final meeting with every advisory committee when they turned these forms in to me . . . [It was held during] the no contact period . . ., and we sat down . . . and they gave me their rankings. I would ask them questions about the statements they had made [on the forms]. . . .So when I went to that [September STC meeting], I had a three-ring binder this thick [indicates 2-3 inches] of all the committee reports, but only one per book. (Tape no. 34)

In addition to these written data, three interviewees mentioned their attendance at advisory committee meetings as an additional source of valuable information to them.

The 1981 STC spent slightly less than two and one-half days selecting textbooks and finishing their other duties (e.g., answering correspondence). Members arrived at the balloting apparently loaded with information from their advisors which would be used in making decisions about textbooks outside the textbook committee member's own subject area. STC members were asked to describe the extent to which they followed their advisors' textbook recommendations during the balloting. Four respondents (29%) replied that they followed their advisors' recommendations in most cases and the remaining ten (71%) did so in every case. Members of this latter group who were interviewed provide elaboration below:

> STC Member 1: I felt like I had given my trust to those people and I certainly should be responsible enough to do what they instructed me to do. . . . I had forms [for each of the] subject areas [with] books listed, and I had them ranked just exactly the way I voted. (Tape no. 27)

> STC Member 2: I still feel like [my advisors] were better qualified than I, and I sincerely feel that after working with them and listening, there was no doubt in my mind about [following their recommendations]. (Tape no. 25)

The other STC interviewees had said that they followed their advisors' recommendations in most cases. Their explanations follow:

> STC Member 1: Before we started the contact period I had one meeting with all my advisors . . . I told them that night . . . that the first ballot I cast would be their first-ranked books. But I said [that] one also has to be realistic. . . . I felt I had to have a little bit of professional leeway to take a look at that assessment and say, "Well, my committee's #2 book apparently doesn't have much of a chance to get any votes at all. So, I'm going to go with #3 [which] maybe . . . has 8 or 9 votes with a good opportunity to get on. . . ." I think that all of my advisors thought that that was a realistic way to handle it. (Tape no. 34)

> STC Member 2: I had a notebook for every subject area that was under adoption and I had one sheet on each book . . . [with] the strengths and weaknesses and the total score [the advisory committee] gave it. [The sheet on each book also included information on] what they wanted me to say or focus on, how they wanted me to vote, [and] how they wanted me to trade-off. . . . Very specific directions. And I followed their directions [in most cases]. (Tape no. 38)

It appears that there were two factors which might lead committee members to move away from their advisors' recommendations: the number of votes a book received on the previous ballot and the testimony, during discussion, of the STC member who was the expert in the field represented by the book(s) being selected. Discussions regarding books' strengths and/or weaknesses took place only after the first ballot and sometimes occurred between each subsequent ballot. The value of those discussions is described below:

> STC Member 1: [who had said that he followed his advisors' recommendations in every case] [I changed my vote] when I knew that a book that we had chosen was completely [out of the running] and there was no need in my wasting my vote on it. It seems to me that I went back to what not necessarily my advisors had said but what the [textbook] committee members, themselves, were voting on. . . . [W]e're picking textbooks not only for my district, but for the entire state of Texas. And we had these people [on the STC] who were the best, as far as I was concerned, in their disciplines. So I believe that I went along with the choices of my [STC] colleagues.
> Interviewer: So, in my example of art, you would listen [and] maybe even ask questions of the art expert on the committee.
> STC Member 1: Exactly. As a matter of fact, we did that often, yes. . . . That would lead us toward either accepting or declining that specific book. (Tape no. 25)

> STC Member 2: See, whether or not you stick with [a book] would depend upon how many votes [it had received]. . . . It kind of depended, too, . . . upon . . . how well [the subject expert] advocated and argued

> for a particular book. . . . I would hope the people would look to me when I talked about the [books in my subject area and] that they weighed my opinion about that particular book. (Tape no. 340)
>
> STC Member 3: [providing an example of what prompted a change in one's textbook vote] Like, if [one of the subject-area experts] said, "This is a really strong book and we really need to have this one included," my response would be to go back to my notes. If my first and second choice in that area . . . had made the list and this other one, [my advisors] had said we don't care about, then I might change my vote based on that [the expert's testimony and advisors' neutral stance] to help him out. (Tape no. 38)

These survey data indicate that textbook committee members believed that the textbook ballots they cast were for those books recommended by their advisors in either every case or in most cases. Interview data strongly suggest that, even in cases where STC members deviated from their advisors' recommendations, they did so when the books their advisors had recommended had no chance to be selected. Decisions to select books different than those recommended by advisors were based on the number of votes books had received and/or the testimony for or against books offered during the discussions between votes.

Using a passage from the minutes of the STC's second day of balloting and tables of the votes cast for economics textbooks, I hope to provide a "picture" of how the factors identified by interviewees (number of votes and testimony between ballots) led to the adoption of five economics books in three ballots. Table 6 shows the votes cast by members on ballot number one. We can see from this depiction that three books (Addison, Scott, and Swift) received ten or more votes and were listed on this ballot. Three other texts received the majority of the remaining voted (Gregg/McGraw - 9, Laidlaw - 8, and Merrill - 7). According to my interview data, those who had cast the more "random" votes (e.g., for Harper & Row's book) would come to see two of these three texts as the most likely to vote for on the second ballot (Note: Following the first ballot, members can only cast a number of votes equal to the number of books remaining to be listed); that is, unless the testimony between ballots helped to convince them otherwise. The following lengthy excerpt is taken from the official minutes. We can see that in this case, the testimony of the committee's economics expert, Mrs. Hirsh (member number 7 in the tables), met with mixed results. She began by criticizing one of the three texts receiving numerous votes on the first ballot. She supported the Coronado book which received two additional votes, although her endorsement of the Harper and Row text was to no avail. Notice, too, that little argument was made for either the Gregg/McGraw or Laidlaw books which had received 9 and 8 votes respectively on the first ballot. Names used in the excerpt are followed by their corresponding numbers used in the tables.

> [Following the first ballot], Mrs. Hirsh [7] stated she felt the Merrill book was weak and out-of-date and lacked the contemporary approach.

Table 6

Votes Cast for Economics Textbooks: Ballot One

Publisher / STC Member	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Addison-Wesley	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X
Coronado							X						X	X	
Gregg/McGraw		X	X	X	X				X		X	X	X	X	
Harper & Row							X								X
Houghton Mifflin	X										X	X			
Laidlaw	X	X			X				X	X		X	X	X	
Merrill		X	X	X				X		X	X				X
Scott Foresman	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X
South-Western (1)				X				X	X	X					
South-Western (2)			X												
Sterling Swift	X		X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X

Notes.

1. South-Western had two different texts in contention.
2. Member number 6 cast only three votes.
3. Member number 7 was the economics expert.

> She spoke to the Coronado book for the low achiever and to the Harper & Row book for the high academic student. Mr. Schultz [14] commented that the Harper & Row book carried a 1978 copyright and agreed that the Coronado book was good for the low achiever. Dr. Schade [13] supported the Coronado book. Mrs. Murillo [12] and Mr. Maldonado [10] spoke to the Laidlaw book. Dr. Stamps [15] reported his committee did not support the Coronado book but recommended the Harper & Row and Gregg/McGraw-Hill books. Mrs. Hirsh [7] spoke to the Coronado book. Statement was made that one publisher had agreed to up-date statistics in its book. Mrs. Hirsh [7] moved that the Committee call a representative of Harper & Row before the Committee as a whole. Mrs. Jones [9] seconded the motion. Discussion was called. When vote was called, the motion was defeated. Additional discussion was held. Mrs. Collins [2] called for the vote. One title was listed on ballot 2. (Texas Education Agency, 1981b, p. xiv)

Table 7 shows the voting pattern following the discussion reported above. The minutes continue as follows:

> Following additional discussion, the fifth title was recommended on ballot 3. After two ballots had been cast for Alternate No. 1 without a title receiving ten votes, motion was made by Mrs. Hirsh [7], and seconded by Mr. Schultz [14], that no alternates be recommended in Economics. Motion carried. (Texas Education Agency, 1981b, p. xiv)

Table 7

Votes Cast for Economics Textbooks: Ballot Two

STC Member	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Publisher															
Addison-Wesley	Previously Listed														
Coronado						X	X				X		X	X	
Gregg/McGraw	X	X	X	X	X				X			X			X
Harper & Row							X								
Houghton Mifflin															
Laidlaw	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	
Merrill			X					X		X	X				X
Scott Foresman	Previously Listed														
South-Western (1)															
South-Western (2)															
Sterling Swift	Previously Listed														

All of these data, seen together, can be helpful to our discussion of representational styles exhibited by STC members as well as to our speculation regarding the representational legitimacy of their textbook decisions. Data presented in the minutes and tables offer a visualization, first, of how the first-ballot vote revealed no more than six books in serious contention for being listed. Economics advisory groups from across the state had decided that those six publishers (Addison, Gregg/McGraw, Laidlaw, Merrill, Scott, and Swift) had the best of the eleven economics books being offered. The contradictory data here, obviously, are that the economics expert on the committee voted for only one of those six publishers mentioned above.

The second visualization apparent from the combined balloting tables and STC minutes excerpts is the way in which members gravitated toward those books which were nearly listed on the first ballot. Some of this vote switching may have resulted from the between-ballot discussion, but neither of the books receiving prolonged attention (Harper & Row and Coronado) did much different that they had on the first ballot. The voting pattern shown in Table 7 leaves little question that, despite the discussion that followed, the majority would select the Gregg/McGraw book on the third ballot because it was the majority favorite. In fact, the book received 14 votes on the third ballot, with Mrs. Hirsh casting the lone dissenting vote for Coronado.

Assuming that votes cast on the first ballot reflected advisors' recommendations, there is little real change among STC members reflected in their second votes (e.g., see Table 7, members 3, 9, 11, & 12).

This seems to indicate that STC members were adopting the delegate style of representation *vis a vis* their advisors' textbook choices. There are but a few cases where a member may be exhibiting the politico style in her or his second-ballot vote (e.g., member 1's shift from Houghton to Gregg/McGraw or member 11's shift to Coronado), and all but one of those vote shifts (member 11's vote for Coronado) are toward one of the two books receiving the highest number of runner-up votes on ballot one. When seen in connection with the survey and interview data, this information suggests that, when adopting economics books in 1981, STC members unquestionably adopted the delegate style of representing their advisors' recommendations thus making their economics textbook decisions quite legitimate with regard to their advisors' wishes.

State Board of Education Members

Board members found themselves with four basic sorts of textbook decisions: (1) to adopt the texts as recommended by the Commissioner; (2) to adopt the texts with a request for changes; (3) to remove a text (or texts) from the commissioner's recommended lists; or (4) to decide not to adopt the texts (declare a non-adoption). Many board members who were faced with these decisions asked others to provide them with information about textbooks before the decisions were at hand.

Almost sixty percent of the State Board respondents asked teachers, among others, to provide them with information and advice regarding the textbooks they were to adopt. In most cases, it seems, these were educators from the member' congressional district, as the passages below indicate:

> SBE Member 1: [I]n every instance it was someone I knew and a person who was well-versed in the subject matter at hand. Primarily [they were] the people in my [congressional] district. (Tape no. 19)

> SBE Member 2: I would go over to the Education Service Center [where the textbooks were kept for perusal] and try to talk to some of the people [there] and see what they thought . . ., and see what insight they would give me . . . (Tape no. 20)

Those SBE members who used advisors were asked to describe the extent to which this advisor information was typically influential their textbook decisions. One member claimed advisors' information had no influence and another member claimed his advisors' information influenced each of his textbook decisions considerably. Two members (20%) felt that certain of their textbook decisions reflected some advisor influence, three (30%) felt that their advisors had considerable influence on decisions pertaining to certain books, and three believed that their advisor-information had some bearing on each textbook decision they made as a board member. In short, fifty percent of those board members who enlisted the aid of advisors felt that there was some advisor influence present when they made decisions about certain textbooks, and forty percent of the same group recognized some degree of advisor influence in all of their textbook decisions. The importance of advisor information is described, by board members, below:

> SBE Member 1: [T]hey took the time to go through [the textbook] and I would [have] check[ed] to see whether they knew what they were talking about and they really knew their material. So if they know their material and they're teaching that particular material, they've got to influence me somewhat because of the fact that they knew more than I knew. (Tape no. 20)

> SBE Member 2: I relied on their judgement quite heavily because they were professionals and I had confidence in their judgement. If there was a question about their being partial, in some respects, to their own ideas and not looking at [the book] objectively, I then tried to use my own judgement. But I did rely on my professional advisors quite heavily. (Tape no. 19)

The survey and interview data suggest that board members were careful in their selection of professional advisors and that they generally paid attention to their advisor's textbook information. Only four of ten board members reported their advisors' information to be influential with regard to every textbook decision they made, and only one of those respondents recognized that as *considerable* influence. These data lead me to believe that, with regard to their advisors' information, members of the board adopted the politico style of representation, allowing the circumstances of the decision situation to determine whether or not their advisors' information would influence their textbook decisions. It is impossible to know which circumstances, if any, prompted board members to pay especially close attention to their advisor's reports. However, it is logical to assume that board members provided with information of a particularly technical nature (e.g., opinions from theatre arts teachers about a text's chapter on stage design) or of a peculiarly pedagogical nature (e.g., opinions from reading teachers about the proper time to introduce consonant blends) might be more likely to adopt the delegate than politico style of representation.

A commonly-held belief among all who champion elected State Boards as opposed to appointed boards is that an elected board is more likely to reflect the will of the people. With this understanding in mind, I asked the 1981 board members to indicate the extent to which their textbook decisions typically reflected the influence of their constituents. During interviews, respondents were also asked to provide examples, if possible, of how they knew their decisions were reflective of the needs and desires of their constituencies.

Two of seventeen respondents (12%) replied that every textbook decision they made was influenced to some extent by their constituency, and five respondents (29%) felt that their textbook decisions typically reflected no constituent influence. One veteran of many years told of how it took something quite extraordinary to awaken his otherwise disinterested constituency. In his words:

> They didn't show much interest. That was one thing I was rather

> disappointed about. There was not a lot of public interest shown in textbooks unless something controversial surfaced. Then they came on strong. (Tape no. 19)

Seven respondents (41%) believed that, in the case of certain textbooks, their decisions reflected some voter influence, and three others (18%) felt considerable voter influence when making decisions about certain textbooks. In short, ten respondents (59%) recognized some degree of constituent influence when making decisions about certain textbooks. One member described how this worked in his congressional district:

> SBE Member: Some of my constituents . . . would go and get those books and then they'd call me and tell me what they thought about it. They'd review the books, in other words, and let me know how they felt. That influenced the way I voted.
> Interviewer: These were unsolicited comments?
> SBE Member: They were unsolicited comments.
> Interviewer: And these were also *not* people who were protesters?
> SBE Member: That's right. They were the general public. . . . Through publicity from one source or another, they knew they could do that. And some of them did. Not *many*, but some of them did. (Tape no. 36)

Another respondent didn't wait to hear from his voters but sought them out, instead:

> Sometimes you ask them [what they're feelings are about certain books] because they're going to give you a constructive and an honest answer. . . . And then, of course, I would form my own consensus because naturally, when you ask somebody questions like that, they're always going to give you their own preferences. I would try and [determine] what it is that all these people wanted that would benefit the children. (Tape no. 20)

These data suggest that the majority of board members, through one means or another, received information pertaining to certain textbooks. Indeed, even one of the interviewees who responded "none" to the question of constituent influence remarked that at times, his voters were in contact with him. Little more than informed speculation is possible given the data at hand, but it appears that board members receiving constituent information were as likely as not to adopt the delegate style of representation as they used that constituent information in their textbook decisions.

The data tell us little about the representational legitimacy of board members' textbook decisions *vis a vis* their constituencies. Several members believed that their re-election to office was sufficient evidence that their textbook decisions were reflective of voters' needs and desires. However, the fact that board members were responsible for making many important educational decisions, alone, would seem to mute that argument. Given the data at hand, no generalizations about the representational legitimacy of the 1981 board's textbook decisions seem permissible.

Participants' General Impressions of the Texas Textbook System

Procuring the Best Textbooks

Eighty-six percent of STC respondents believe that the Texas textbook selection and adoption system succeeds in providing Texas schools with the best textbooks. One interviewee wanted to be sure that I qualified her answer to read: "the best possible that are offered . . . and sometimes there wasn't a whole lot offered" (Tape no. 27).

Generally, STC interviewees were supportive in their belief that the books were the best. In fact, as if to refute the above comment regarding what was available, another member had this to say:

> I feel that we had a very good selection [of books] to pick from. It was sort of a tricky type of thing to find out which . . . will be the best for your district. (Tape no. 25)

Two interviewees did offer rather strong support for the system and its positive outcomes. As presented below, the first praises the system's committee of experts who select the books intitially (STC) as well as the various supporting information sources. The second provides an anecdote to show that books will always be the "collective best" because of the way in which they are selected:

> STC Member 1: [answering the question about the schools receiving the best textbooks] Yes -- with a big underscoring. . . . The people who are chosen to be on this committee do represent every congressional

> district in the state. And we got the best minds together and from there, we were able to come up with what we think are the five textbooks for the state of Texas. . . . We're having input from the teachers, . . . experts, . . . parents, . . . [and] the community. Then you have the other side, the publishers, who are out to make their money -- we got input from them also. What else can you ask? You've got input from all of the necessary people that go into making education work. (Tape no. 25)

> STC Member 2: I went down [to Austin] with five [science] books that [my advisory] committee wanted, . . . and was shocked that none of the books, except for one that *my* committee wanted, was supported . . . state-wide. I came to find out at a later time that the science consultant that I had selected . . . to chair [my science advisory committee], and the teachers he selected, had a particular bias that was not [felt throughout] the majority of the state. . . . That really, to me, reinforced the concept that these are the best books that people want state-wide. (Tape no. 38)

(Note: The story of this member's science committee's choice of books is remarkably similar to the record of the choices of economics books reflected in the voting record of the STC economics expert.)

Members of the State Board were asked the same question -- does Texas receive the best textbooks -- and fourteen of sixteen respondents (88%) answered yes. One of those interviewed believed this to be true because scores on a recently implemented series of state-wide skills tests were rising. He explains:

> We saw the TABS [Texas Assessment of Basic Skills] scores, and when you see scores, you see that they were getting better, they were progressing. So that means that either [pause] whatever [students] were being offered or given, they benefitted from it. This is why I feel that the material that was given to the teachers was naturally being utilized more properly or better implemented or [maybe just better material]. (Tape no. 20)

Though he did not mention TABS scores, another SBE member linked his belief that Texas received the best books with the power inherent in the overall procedure for controlling what is in the books. As he put it:

> If we didn't have some way of selecting books, we would get [the most] goshawful kinds of books you ever heard of that teach every kind of theory. I think the public schools should teach basic math, English, reading, history, geography, and so forth. But I don't think it's any place . . . to teach [pause] for instance, equality of man and woman. That can be done somewhere else. . . . I always opposed anything that wanted to neuter the textbooks -- change he to she, show a picture of a mother hanging a picture and a dad down on the floor playing jacks with the kids. . . . It is not the prerogative of a textbook to teach a philosophy. . . . It's the duty of the textbooks to

teach the basics. (Tape no. 36)

The following board interviewee presented several arguments in support of his belief that Texas does receive the best textbooks. "I think it's one of the best systems that's ever been devised for selecting textbooks," he told me. I noted his mention of uniform teaching tools on his survey and he explained that state-adopted texts were a necessity "if you're going to have equal opportunities for all the boys and girls in large and small schools . . ." This member believed that the books got better with each adoption, largely because of improvements in the wording of the proclamations. "We tried to keep the books modern . . . It was just an effort to permeate our schools with the American ideals -- high ideals -- and to stay abreast of anything modern " (Tape no. 19).

Board members, it appears, believed that a carefully controlled system (i.e., one in which the state outlined the sorts of content it desired and could reject books which did not meet that outline) was certain to produce the best books for Texas schools. There does seem to be some belief in the minds of two of the interviewees at least that the best books are those which have modern facts but "old fashioned" ideals.

Commissioner Bynum believes that Texas normally got the best books available, but that for some years, textbook quality was on the decline. He felt that for years, Texas made do with books that were written for national markets and changed but little to accommodate Texas' needs. He believes that Texas will receive much better books in the future because of its shift from the old, vague curriculum frameworks to the new collections of "essential elements" outlining what is to be learned in each course. These essential elements will soon become the basis of the call for all textbooks and should insure better books in the years ahead (Tape no. 45). Louis Grigar and I did not discuss the question of "best books" directly. He did, on the other hand, talk much about the method for selecting and adopting Texas textbooks. For example, he praised its various checks and balances, noting that when decisions are made from a blend of information, values, and beliefs such as those found in the Texas system they become, by definition, "political judgements." I think he would say, however, that by and large, the "collective public judgement" of the State Board (Grigar understands that textbook policy decisions can only come from the board -- all others involved are making recommendations) has been sound, and that Texas has received the best possible textbooks.

The Swift publishers had determined before the beginning of the textbook campaign which of the five books would be selected by the STC. During our interview, I asked one of them if they were the best of the eleven books offered:

> The five best [economics] books got adopted with one exception. They were going to put five books on [the list and] I thought they should have put four [on the list], because one of them was such a piece of shit that it should have never got on the list at all. . . . I believe that the influence washes -- the wining and dining and that sort of stuff

> -- . . . and it really does get down to who's got the five best books. (Tape no. 39)

Two of the gentlemen from Swift believe that the best books are selected in most cases. In their words:

> Publisher 1: Over the years, the boys and girls in Texas have really benefitted from some fine educational material [which was] no worse than [educational material used in] any other state in the nation and oftentimes . . . much better . . . (Tape no. 52)

> Publisher 2: I'm really convinced that probably, most of the time, the best textbooks get selected. I really am! (Tape no. 39)

A review of this section shows us that those who participated in the 1981 selection and adoption of economics textbooks overwhelmingly believe that the best books (including economics books) were selected. Textbook committee interviewees were mixed in their rationale for believing this, with one former committee member convinced that the best books were a product of the procedure's design. Another member noted that the best people (serving on the STC) will undoubtedly select the best books. He went on to express the sentiments that were apparent in Louis Grigar's (the TEA economics expert) discussion that textbook decisions which reflect the judgements, opinions, and values of such diverse participants are the best that can be had. A third textbook committee member believed that the best books were selected because some obviously fine books were made available to choose from in 1981 (she believed that two or three books bid in her subject area were "unquestionably the best" [Tape no. 27]).

Members of the SBE agreed that the best books were adopted for use in Texas, although their reasons for holding those beliefs were different than those expressed by STC members. One board member based his belief that the best books were in use in Texas on rising test results, and another suggested that the newest books (those which are adopted regularly, approximately every six years) are the best (because they are the most modern) books. Two members added their beliefs that the state's ability to exercise some degree of control over what does and does not go into textbooks is evidence that books selected and adopted in Texas are better than other books "that teach every kind of theory" (Tape no. 36). Commissioner Bynum indicated that the state would secure even better texts now that it can more carefully define its content requirements.

Publishers representing the Swift text, *Hard Choices*, had actually predicted which economics books would be selected in 1981 though in the opinion of one publisher, only four of those were "the best." The voting record shows that of the eleven books bid, only six received strong recommendations from textbook evaluators. Those data support the beliefs of the Swift publishers that, of those textbooks bid, Texas generally receives the best books.

Strengths of the Selection and Adoption System

Thirteen committee members responded to my request that they list the major strengths of the textbook system. Eleven (85%) made some mention of the strength of decisions which reflect the diverse regions of the state and the variety of participants taking part in them. Better than sixty percent of those comments specified this breadth of participation (e.g., teachers, administrators, and members of the public from across the state) as a strength of the State Textbook Committee's initial textbook decisions. A representative response is: "Committee members come from all ranks and regions" (Survey no. 188, item 17).

All of those interviewed spoke of another aspect of the procedure that they found beneficial and that may be interpreted as one of its strengths. It seems that each of them grew professionally from the experience of serving on the STC. I am sure that the following words represent the impressions I received from each of the four 1981 STC interviewees: "[It was] probably one of the greatest educational experiences I've had in my life . . ." (Tape no. 25).

More than three-quarters of the board members responding to this item on their questionnaires noted, in some way, the diversity of participants as a system strength. Their examples, not surprisingly, more often mentioned the role of the public than did the comments of the STC members. Representative of this identified strength is the following comment made by one SBE member: "It is democratic which gives opportunities to have input by parents, school personnel and community leaders" (Survey no. 290, item 15).

Other strengths mentioned by two or more members (though not considered representative) can be seen as "product" strengths (or outcomes) as opposed to "process" strengths, and include cost effectiveness and uniformity of curriculum.

Respondents from the TEA varied in perspective and consequently identified quite different strengths of the Texas textbook system. Former Commissioner Bynum pointed to three strong-points of the Texas system. "Number one is volume buying." The others result from Texas' six-year adoption cycle which (1) assures that all schools will be provided with the newest materials available, and (2) lessens the likelihood that textbook decisionmakers will be swayed by "fad" buying (Tape no. 45). Louis Grigar, on the other hand, spoke at length about the "checks and balances" of the system which together make it impossible for publishers to benefit from what might be characterized as "improper" or "unusual" influence on Texas textbook decisions. Furthermore, he spoke, throughout his entire interview, of the importance of what I will call the "interconnectedness" of the system's participants and processes. In reviewing Grigar's interview, I realized that he doesn't see the acquisition of textbooks for Texas schools as a system of separate participants, stages and processes but sees, instead, numbers of persons carrying-out overlapping responsibilities within an organized framework. The wording of a proclamation, for example, is seen by Grigar as a responsibility he accepts yet cannot assume credit for because so many variables affect his actions (e.g., past proclamations and the state of the discipline) and those of others who will study the proclamation (e.g., SBE members and TEA administrators) before a proclamation becomes official. I believe I am correct in stating that Grigar would see this "interconnectedness" as one of the textbook system's greatest strengths.

The descriptive value of the proclamation, volume buying, uniformity and control of the curriculum, and the honesty of the participants were some of the strengths identified by the publishers from Swift. Public participation in textbook decisions was further mentioned by members of this group. One man stated that public participation was a "key ingredient" which allowed parents an opportunity to have "significant impact" on the books used in Texas schools. The same publisher called public participation "an important piece of the process which really justifiess it, in my mind" (Tape no. 52). One of the other publishers alluded to public participation as he expressed his belief that the system accommodates the best materials:

> [E]ven with the existence of extreme right-wing groups like the Gablers, . . . good books, effectively done, [can] get through the process. (Tape no. 39)

Weaknesses of the Selection and Adoption System

Few patterns are apparent in the eleven responses offered by STC members concerning the system's weaknesses. Weaknesses cited included: (1) the length and focus (one-sided) of the textbook hearings; (2) the influence petitioners have regarding textbook content; (3) the veto power of the superintendent serving as chairperson of the STC; and (4) the powers of the Commissioner and State Board to remove initially-selected texts. Six respondents (55%) noted weaknesses related to the overall procedure such as the inadequate orientation they received and the insufficient amount of time they had to select advisors and conduct textbook reviews. Conversely, several felt that the procedure was too long. A representative response from this majority would seem to be: "Very tiring for school personnel and publishers, physically and mentally" (Survey no. 188, item 18).

Weaknesses identified by board respondents included the lack of time they had to critique the books and the belief that some books were not good textbooks. Nearly half of the identified weaknesses pertained to the one-sidedness of the hearings (this has since been corrected). This was the same criticism that board members had shared, in the past, with Louis Grigar (Tape no. 24).

Commissioner Bynum saw the proclamations as one of the system's weaknesses because it was difficult to make them specific enough to demand a better quality book from the publishers. In addition, he also recognized, as a system weakness, the fact that districts which were unhappy with the texts they selected were "stuck" with them for six years (Tape no. 45). Grigar mentioned as a weakness only that it's "adversary" design (i.e., only those who wished to protest books could testify at hearings) was a handicap (Tape no. 24). None of the publishers from Swift spoke of systemic weaknesses.

Summary: 1981 Case Study Data

Major Textbooks Evaluation Criteria Used by Decisionmakers

State Textbook Committee members. The three evaluation criteria thought most important by this group were "organization and presentation of content," "adherence to the proclamation," and "pedagogical strength." Although interviewees were able to provide examples of how they looked for well-organized and presented content or good teaching "tools," all mentioned the importance of the proclamation in their work. Some type of evaluation form, usually constructed by the committee and shared with advisor groups, was used in an attempt to first narrow the number of total books available for selection and then determine which of those remaining were to be selected as the best books.

Texas Education Agency personnel. Focusing on the economics adoption, with the Swift book as our example, we saw that "adherence to the proclamation" was the most important criterion used by Agency staff to review selected texts. It appears that the books were carefully reviewed with an eye toward how each met the intent of the proclamation, as understood by those who were largely responsible for its wording. In addition to this, petitioners' "Bills" and publishers "Answers" were inspected in order to determine the validity of all claims made against the books. It does not appear that those protests were used by Agency textbook reviewers as "guides" for their eventual judgement calls. Besides their careful inspection of the book's fit with the proclamation, those reviews also resulted in locating quite a large number of editorial corrections to be made in the Swift book.

State Board of Education members. Members from this group relied heavily on "adherence to the proclamation" as an evaluation criteria for textbooks although their interpretations of the proclamation were clearly different than earlier interpretations of the STC and TEA staff. Ten of seventeen respondents reported using advisors in their efforts to learn about textbooks. That all members electing to use advisors chose "teachers" as one of the advisor categories is believed to be one of the reasons why SBE respondents chose, as their two other major textbook evaluation criteria, "pedagogical strength" and "organization and presentation of content." Presumably, most of those who did not work with advisors used the proclamation as their principal evaluation criterion rather than these pedagogical criteria. More than seventy percent of respondents claimed to have some awareness of some of the textbooks they adopted each year, although it appears that the books reviewed and the degree of awareness members had of each was guided, in large part, by the extent to which each book had been protested during the August hearings and whether or not they would be protested at the board's November hearing.

Influence on Textbook Decisionmakers

Petitioner influence on State Textbook Committee members. Although ten of fourteen STC respondents recognized petitioners as having textbook evaluation interests other than their own, forty-three percent of respondents realized some petitioner influence in their selection of certain textbooks. One member felt sure that the "Bills" had had an effect on some of her advisors' decisions, but two-thirds of those influenced believe this to have resulted from the textbook hearings. The eight respondents who realized no influence claim to have listened to the protests without being convinced to change their decisions. Petitioners may have motivated some STC members to review certain books or content, but this was not a strong theme in the interviews. One STC member who claimed no petitioner influence explained that this was because she shared petitioners' fears and concerns regarding textbook content.

Petitioner influence on Texas Education Agency personnel. Using the Swift economics book as a focus, the record indicates that none of the nearly 70 changes requested of the publisher can be linked to protests of the book made by Grusendorf, et al. If petitioners' "Bills" and hearing transcripts are the most likely source of petitioner influence (in the way in which they "define" much of the staff's judgement calls), these did not appear to have had any recognizable outcomes (*vis a vis* Agency requests for changes, deletions, etc.) on the Swift book. Neither of the Agency personnel interviewed in connection with this adoption acknowledged an awareness of any personal attempts at influence by petitioners. The avenue both men recognized as open for petitioner influence was the way in which protests have been reflected in subsequent proclamations. Since this was the first year that "free enterprise economics" books were called for, this could not have been the case, though certainly, previous protests about free enterprise content (or the lack thereof) in other social science texts (e.g., history) may have had such an impact.

Petitioner influence on State Board of Education members. Seventy-one percent of board member respondents typically realized some degree of petitioner influence on at least some of their textbook-related decisions. I believe this resulted, primarily, from petitioner testimony at the board's textbook hearing. Petitioners were listened to and, at least in the minds of two interviewees from the 1981 board, respected for the textbook reviewing they did. All of the commissioner's recommended texts were adopted, and the Commissioner was directed by the board to request changes in two of the three books which had been protested. One of those attending the board hearing attributes those changes to the testimony of one of the petitioners, though there is no record of the testimony given.

Publisher influence on State Textbook Committee members. Respondents from the 1981 textbook committee were split evenly on this question, with seven recognizing that publishers had some influence on their textbook decisions and seven others claiming, essentially, that their textbook decisions would have been virtually the same without any publisher participation. Two who claimed no publisher influence said during their interviews that they had been negatively influenced by publishers during the campaign (meaning that they were not going to vote for a book because of something the publisher said or did). Those who were influenced felt that this was due to information provided by publishers which caused textbook committee members to "take a second look" at some aspect of one publisher's book as it compared with the same aspect in aother's book. This comparative, influential information was provided by publishers primarily through their formal and informal contacts with committee members and advisors.

Publisher influence on Texas Education Agency personnel. Data from this group indicate that a mutual air of respect and professionalism existed between publishers and Agency personnel. These data suggest that perhaps publishers' greatest influence on textbook decisions made at the Agency resulted from the shared understanding between groups of how the proclamations might be interpreted. In other words, publishers had an idea of what staff would want in an economics book, for example, and the staff would have an idea of what publishers were capable of presenting. Maintaining a credible, professional image at the Agency seems to have been advantageous for publishers in cases where their materials were being considered for major change or removal from the list. Credibility, in such cases, would lend a pedagogically professional air to their arguments, thus raising them above the mere pleas of sellers with profits at stake. Lastly, there was information in these oral data which hinted that, at times, the costs (to publishers) of textbook changes were considered by TEA staff as they made their recommendations to the Commissioner. If this did occur, it would be an arguable example of publisher influence.

Publisher influence on State Board of Education members. Most members of this group were not typically influenced by publishers. Apparently, board members paid little attention to publishers' written "Answers" to textbook protests, and, even when publishers spoke at the board hearings, members were conscious of not allowing these polished, professional publishers to influencing their thinking. It was not so much a case of disliking publishing personnel as one of just not listening to them.

There are data, however, which both underscore the difficulty publishers had "being heard" by SBE members as well as indicate that there were some board members who could be sympathetic to a publisher (or perhaps, to the company's book or series). One of the publishers interviewed, telling of the importance of establishing personal credibility with all textbook decisionmakers, talked of the value of having "a close associate on the board that you can get your story to" (Tape no. 52). The "story," as he explained, was nothing more than the publisher's response to an issue that had arisen, for example, during the campaign or at the board's textbook deliberation meeting. What was important was to have someone on the board who would ask for the publisher's story when problems arose. Otherwise, the publisher was left undefended before a board populated by some members who may be championing a different "story."

Serving as State Textbook Committee Member or Advisor

The data indicate that textbook committee members, board members, and Agency personnel agree that the most important qualities for membership on the STC were educational experience (an average of 19 years for 1981 STC members) and subject expertise (with the exception of the superintendents). Selectors also appreciated nominees who were involved in professional organizations. No mention was made by Commissioner Bynum of receiving names of candidates from anyone other than his staff, and no mention was made by Louis Grigar of his receiving names from others, either. The Commissioner wanted a geographically- and ethnically-balanced committee, and the only additional criterion mentioned by Grigar was his hope to find members capable of making sound judgements (a quality mentioned by one former STC member). The STC interviewees believed that their nominations could be traced to some recommendation made by their district curriculum supervisors to the Agency although one STC interviewee added: "I have heard *since* the selection that several textbook representatives had suggested my name to [someone at the Agency]" (Tape no. 34).

Advisors seem to have been selected primarily on the merits of their subject expertise. Though nearly half of the STC respondents selected all of their advisors personally, 57% said that they at least had the help of district administrators and/or curriculum supervisors. One of the interviewees had not met or seen any of his advisors, including the chairpersons, until the "campaign" began. When I asked whether that seemed in any way odd, he said no, adding that he was once an advisor for a State Textbook Commttee member whom he never met (Tape no. 25).

Decisionmakers as Representatives

State Textbook Committee members. Members of the textbook committee largely believed that their textbook choices would not have been much different than choices made by randomly selected groups of their subject-area peers. Data provided in Tables 5 & 6 pertaining to the 1981 STC's economics textbook balloting do not exhibit this likeness to random peer voting, however. The economics expert serving on the committee cast textbook votes that were, in all cases but one, unrelated to the votes cast by the others on the committee. Assuming that each of those other members had economics specialists connected with their economics advisory groups, her ballots should have been similar to those of her subject peers. This may have been an atypical case, on the other hand, because voting patterns do exist which indicate that six of the eleven books offered were preferred by STC members' advisor groups. Given this likeness in the voting, it appears that the committee's economics expert might have been something of a maverick. The same table data as well as the survey and interview data combine to suggest that committee members were faithful in following the wishes of their economics advisors. In adopting the delegate style of representation as they did, textbook committee members' economics textbook decisions can be seen to have a high degree of representational legitimacy for their advisors and those who would use the texts throughout the state.

State Board of Education members. A majority of board members enlisted the aid of advisors before making decisions about certain textbooks. The data seem to suggest that board members adopted the delegate style of representation more often in cases where this advisor-information pertained to particularly technical or pedagogical aspects of the books in question. In those cases where advisors' information appeared to be more subjective, board members may have adopted a politico style, using advisor-information selectively, as the circumstances permitted. The data do indicate that textbook decisions made by board members using advisor recommendations more often than not legitimately represented the information provided by the members' advisors. Almost seventy-one percent of respondents recognized some constituent influence on certain of their textbook decisions. Interview data indicate that those members who were contacted by voters with textbook concerns were likely to act in a way which reflected the wishes of their vocal constituents. The data were not sufficient to allow substantive comment to be made regarding the representational legitimacy of board members' textbook decisions *vis a vis* their constituencies.

Participants General Impressions of the System

Procuring the best textbooks. With few exceptions, all participants contacted believed that Texas typically acquires the best textbooks offered. Reasons underlying this belief varied greatly, but two explanations of why/how the best books are adopted were shared between groups. One reason for the belief that Texas adopts the best textbooks which was offered by publishers and STC members is, simply, that the best books are offered for adoption. Participants from these two groups are convinced that careful and knowledgeable review will reveal a small number of texts in each subject area which are unquestionably better than the others. The second reason, shared between groups, for the best books getting chosen in Texas can be characterized as "the magic of the system." One STC interviewee described the Texas textbook selection and adoption system as one which worked because the best books (defined as those identified through a consensus reached at the STC selection) "emerge" from the pool of books bid. A State Board member declared that Texas got the best books because it had the best state-wide selection and adoption system.

Strengths of the selection and adoption system. Looking over this section, we see that several strengths were mentioned by two or more participant groups. The value of the proclamations as an aid to the selection of textbooks was identified as a strength of the Texas system by some STC respondents, one publisher, one TEA participant, and a number of board respondents. Members of the STC and SBE, the publishers, and Grigar all noted the variety of participants and the information they bring to the procedure as a strength of Texas textbook selection and adoption. Commissioner Bynum, several board members, and one of the publishers believed that volume purchasing was a systemic strength, and uniformity and control of curriculum was a strength mentioned by respondents in the State Board and publisher groups.

Weaknesses of the selection and adoption system. There is little generalizable data regarding weaknesses in the Texas textbook system. One-sided (negative) information provided by petitioners was mentioned by one STC member, nearly half the board respondents, and Grigar from the TEA. The only other weakness that I can see across participant groups is the problem regarding textbook decisions made with insufficient personal information. This can be seen as generalizable if we consider that one board member and a number of STC members recognized that there was too little time to conduct thorough textbook critiques.

In the preceding pages I presented case study data relevant to the research questions under study. Collective findings pertaining to the Texas textbook selection and adoption system are presented and discussed in the following chapter.

NOTES

1. The book Dr. Edgar is discussing was a civics book submitted by the Macmillan Publishing Company during the 1972 adoption cycle and entitled *Search for Freedom*. The story of this book's removal was told by several Agency personnel and at least one publisher during my conversations and interviews and is covered by Hefley (1976) as well. Mrs. Gabler protested the fact that Ms. Monroe received more space in the book than George Washington and asked, during her hearing testimony, whether this was a proper choice of content depicting "great Americans."

2. The question was poorly worded (see Appendix E, item no. 4) and did not allow for a response which included both personal and advisor textbook evaluations. Despite this error on my part, six respondents checked more than one response, indicating that a number of board members might have looked at certain books themselves while asking advisors to look at the others.

3. The publishers' replies to the protests, which were supposed to be sent to the committee members also, were handed to them when they met in Austin for the textbook hearing on September 14. If members or their advisory groups had decided to change their decisions on the basis of the protests and prior to coming to Austin, they did so that year without the benefit of the publishers' rebuttal.

4. There was some confusion on my part regarding the nature and extent of board members' use of advisors. The survey was constructed so as to allow me to identify who board members used when they did ask others to

review textbooks; however, I did not learn until the follow-up interviews that some members who had checked "subject specialists" were referring to TEA staff and others were not. Upon learning this, I endeavored to ask all remaining interviewees if the subject specialists they used as advisors were TEA staff.

5. Sometime in the late 1970s, the system was adjusted to include the selection of "alternates" by the textbook committee; that is, after choosing five textbooks in each subject area, members were permitted to cast ballots for as many as two additional books or series to be used as alternates should one or more of their original five be removed by the Commissioner or State Board.

6. Five interviewees discussed this "phonics" story with me, three during our taped session and two following the taping. While none of the alleged principals in the drama elected to discuss this with me, three of the persons I spoke with had taken part in the 1980 textbook adoptions and the others were sort of "inside witnesses" to this personal influence unfolding. I mentioned in Chapter Three that I had tried hard not to select a case for study that could in any way be described as extraordinary. I continue to believe that this unusual episode of petitioner influence on the SBE did not alter the selection of basal readers that year.

7. The record (TEA, 1981c) shows that Kent Grusendorf, representing thirteen other gentlemen as well as himself, was the only petitioner to protest the Swift economics textbook. Mr. Grusendorf decided against releasing the rights to his interview data, thus, no petitioner data are presented within this case.

CHAPTER FIVE

Findings, Discussion and Conclusions

> General public knowledge about school curricula is hardly less than general public interest in the subject -- both are small.
> (Eliot, 1960, p. 1046)

> Policy making . . . is what it is because participants in the policy-making process behave as they do. Men make policy; it is not made for them. They also make the policy-making machinery. Much of what might be called the "irrationality" of the policy-making system is, therefore, the consequence of the irrationality of the participants in it. It may be serious -- even disasterous. But it represents the quality of man's control over policy making, not the absence of it.
> (Lindblom, 1968, p. 108)

> For a long time I have been convinced that the textbook selection process in the State of Texas -- although it has served its purpose well -- is not well understood by the general public and has become so surrounded by controversy that a strong need exists for it to be examined in depth. (Joe Kelly Butler, former State Board of Education Chairperson, as quoted in the *San Antonio Express*, 1983, p. 1-B)

> It is the policy-makers who must confront the problems . . . [related to policymaking]; the scholar can only present the picture of the world as he studies it. (Iannaccone & Cistone, 1974, p. 24)

The purpose of this research was to determine how state-level textbook adoption decisions were made in Texas between the years

1969-1981. Two major questions provided the focus of my investigation. They were:

1. How were textbooks evaluated by members of each decision group?
    - (a) What role did the Proclamation (state guidelines) play in these textbook evaluations?
    - (b) What additional criteria, procedures and information were used by decisionmakers and advisors in their selections?

2. What was the nature and extent of influence (if any) on these decision groups resulting from the participation of the non-decision groups (petitioners and publishers)?

In addition to these major questions, several related questions emerged and were addressed in the research. They were:

1. What could be learned about the construction of the State Textbook Committee?
    - (a) Who was selected to serve on the State Textbook Committee, and what criteria were used in their selections?
    - (b) Who served as advisors to these committee members, and what criteria were used in their selection?

2. What can be said about the degree to which decision groups (at least the textbook committee and State Board) acted on the recommendations of their constituencies or their advisors when

making textbook selection decisions?

3. What can be learned about the nature of the procedure as it relates to the acquisition of public school textbooks for Texas?
    (a) Did the system succeed in providing the "best books?"
    (b) What did the participants see as the system's strengths and weaknesses?
    (c) What other functions might the system serve?

I selected three cases for study and collected survey and interview data from the textbook decision group members involved in each case. Isolating a specific text or series in each case permitted me to collect valuable oral history data from members of the two non-decision groups -- publishers and petitioners. Primary historical documents relative to each case study were also examined. Following the outline used throughout Chapter Four, this chapter begins with a summary of salient findings. The research questions are then discussed and followed by suggestions for further study.

Summary of Salient Findings

Evaluation Criteria Used by Textbook Decisionmakers

State Textbook Committee members' evaluation criteria. Textbook committee members and their advisors used a textbook evaluation form of one sort or another to guide them in their work, a method recommended to them (with sample forms provided) by the TEA. Most members constructed their own forms with the help of advisors or district supervisors, and most of those forms were general enough to be used for textbooks being evaluated in all subject areas.

Textbook evaluation criteria ranked by STC members as their three most important were "organization and presentation of content," "adherence to the proclamation," and "pedagogical strength." Evaluation forms may have included statements reflecting aspects of each of these criteria (for examples, see Appendix M), although there is evidence to suggest that, because of items peculiar to the proclamation guidelines (e.g., the item referring to "blatantly offensive language or illustrations"), the proclamation may have stood alone as a textbook evaluation form of its own. Most STC interviewees were able to provide examples of textbook content related to their use of "adherence to the proclamation" as an evaluation criterion but were less capable of providing concrete examples of how they used pedagogical strength or organization and presentation of content as evaluative criteria.

Apparently, most subject-area committees carried out two types of evaluations. The first evaluation entailed their comparing a relatively large number of books with some prescribed criteria (often the proclamation guidelines) in order to identify those books which could be eliminated from further consideration. With this task accomplished, committee members and advisors could then comparatively evaluate the remaining books. In other words, STC members and advisors first determined which were the "good" books and then determined and rank-ordered which of those were the "best." In each of the cases studied, educators responsible for making these initial textbook decisions identified seven or eight "good" books or series from the dozen or so offered by publishers.

Some initial textbook selectors evaluated certain books more carefully than others. One STC member's advisory group (he did not mention the subject area), for example, eliminated one series from serious consideration because of a personality conflict with the publisher's representative -- a phenomenon not uncommon in textbook selection (Fogarty, 1979). Several publishers interviewed mentioned that it was not uncommon to find committees who had effectively eliminated their books *before* their scheduled "Round Robin" presentation. In some curriculum areas (perhaps more often in the case of "basic" elementary subjects such as basal reading, where my evidence of this practice was strongest), committee members had a favorite book that they automatically placed at the top of their list.

TEA Commissioner and staff's evaluation criteria. Agency textbook reviews appear to have been more meticulously conducted than those of STC members and their advisors, in part because Agency staff carried-out a more focused review (i.e., they had only the proclamation criterion to consider) and also because they had comparatively fewer books to examine. Furthermore, because so many books were in first-printings, TEA staff believed their responsibility was to identify as many editorial errors as possible before the books went into final printings. This commitment to assuring Texas of "clean" textbooks prompted TEA staff to read each book with extraordinary care.

"Adherence to the proclamation" was the only criterion used by textbook decisionmakers at the TEA. On the basis of the proclamation guidelines, Agency staff made judgement calls which resulted in content changes (those changes other than "editorial") and elimination of books when necessary. TEA textbook reviewers routinely found violations of the proclamation which the initial decision group had missed. This is understandable when we consider that STC members and advisors were, at least, if not more concerned with a book's pedagogical strength and the way its content was organized and presented than they were with the extent to which a textbook met the proclamation. STC members and advisors often used the proclamations to eliminate texts from further contention and they may not have used the proclamations as critical evaluative instruments afterwards. Additionally, Agency personnel who were the initial authors of proclamations employed those documents, as evaluation criteria, with a "personal" understanding unavailable to STC members and advisors. Finally, TEA staff interpreted the proclamations with a mindfulness of the political climate that existed within the Agency *vis a vis* the Commissioner and State Board largely unknown (and possibly unimportant) to most STC members and advisors.

While it was no secret that Agency staff (not the Commissioner) conducted textbook reviews, the Commissioner's official textbook decisions were, for the most part, those recommended by his staff. Several informants believe that this may have been less true during Commissioner Edgar's tenure, although Edgar admits that his staff often "won" in textbook arguments with him. The important point is that requests for content changes, corrections, and deletions and many recommendations for removal of textbooks can be attributed to Agency staff as Commissioners became less active in this decision phase over the years.

State Board of Education members' evaluation criteria. Findings and discussion related to the State Board of Education will be presented from the perspective of two groups -- the 1971 board and the 1980-81 boards -- due to the virtual sameness in board membership during the latter two cases studied (see Chapter Three, note 5).

The majority of board members did not attempt to evaluate or review all textbooks recommended for adoption. Instead, they concentrated on those books in which they had a personal interest or those which they believed were most likely to be heavily protested at their textbook hearing. Additionally, State Board members typically focused their evaluations on controversial aspects of a book rather than the book as a whole. Most members claimed that they began paying attention to the books (i.e., reviewing them) prior to their hearings -- perhaps as soon as the results of the STC balloting became available to them.

Slightly more than half of all SBE members used teachers and subject specialists as advisors for their textbook reviews. Earlier board members relied more heavily on TEA staff information while those on the later boards sought the help of educators from within their congressional districts. Board members who did not use advisors were far more likely to have waited until their own textbook hearing (held one or two days prior to their adoption decisions) to become aware of the books recommended for adoption than were those board membes who used advisors.

The three textbook evaluation criteria rated most important by board members were "adherence to the proclamation," "pedagogical strength," and "organization and presentation of content." The earlier board rated "pedagogical strength" more highly than the other two criteria while the more recent boards rated "adherence to the proclamation" as their most important criterion. In all cases, members of the State Board disagreed with the other two decision groups (STC and TEA staff) regarding how certain books met the proclamation guidelines, a fact which indicates that SBE members often interpreted the proclamations differently than STC members and TEA personnel did.

Petitioner Influence on Textbook Decisionmakers

Petitioner influence on State Textbook Committee members. Asked to identify the focus or major concern of petitioners who protested textbooks, STC members in 1971 and 1980 were divided between "organization and presentation of content" and "other" (most often categorized as personal bias). Most textbook committee members from 1981 chose "other" in response to this question. Study of the Bills of Particulars and interviews with petitioners clearly indicates that petitioners, as Last (1984) contended, were frequently not concerned with how textbook content was organized and presented but, instead, with what content was and was not included in books. The 1981 petitioner may be seen as an exception in that some of his protests of the Swift economics book were, in fact, criticisms of the way the authors had organized and/or presented content. The two petitioner groups identified most often by respondents were the National Organization for Women and the Gablers.

On the question of petitioner influence, STC responses were mixed. Slightly more members from the 1971 case recognized petitioner influence on their textbook decisions than those who answered "none." In the two more recent cases, the majority of respondents believed that they were not influenced by petitioners. The majority of all respondents who recognized petitioner influence claimed that their choices of certain books had been influenced somewhat by petitioners.

When asked to identify the source of petitioner influence, STC respondents who claimed such influence were again mixed, with more 1971 respondents identifying Bills of Particulars as the source of influence than petitioners' testimony at textbook hearings. In the later cases, petitioners' testimony at textbook hearings was identified by most committee members who had been influenced. Two possible explanations are offered to explain these differences in the source of petitioner influence. Some of this difference may be due, first, to the fact that Bills of Particulars (without publishers' Answers) were made available to 1971 STC members at least a week before they went to Austin to attend the textbook hearings, whereas the later groups did not receive those materials until the day their hearings began. Second, the 1971 STC hearing lasted but one day compared to five days in both 1980 and 1981, and the number of petitioners in the early 1980s had increased significantly. More petitioners criticizing a single text or series over several days may have been an important factor in the more recent STC members' identification of the textbook hearings as the primary source of petitioner influence.

Beyond the impressions of participants, no measure exists to determine the extent of petitioner influence on STC textbook decisions. Interview data from petitioners were mixed in this regard, and the record shows that in each case studied, heavily protested books were selected and lightly protested ones were not. On the whole, it seems that petitioners did not routinely affect the textbook decisions of STC members and their advisors.

Petitioner influence on the Commissioner and his staff. Interviewees from the Texas Education Agency participant group acknowledged that petitioners' most observable influence on Agency personnel has been in the the way in which textbook protests have forced TEA staff to pay close attention to their wording of the proclamations. Comparing the proclamations from each case, it is evident that the documents became successively longer as they addressed more issues (e.g., the theory of evolution) and grew more specific (e.g., defining free enterprise).

Petitioner influence on the proclamation wording is of major importance when we consider that "adherence to the proclamation" was the sole textbook evaluation criterion used by Agency personnel and the only basis they had for action against textbooks. The later proclamations (1980 & 1981) state that petitioner allegations will be given careful consideration during Agency textbook reviews. This means that, with the exception of the 1971 case, TEA staff were required to make judgement calls concerning many content issues (e.g., sex-role stereotyping) which had been identified by petitioners beforehand as important enough to be included in the proclamation wording.

The second form of petitioner influence, then, was the ability of petitioners to "guide" those at the TEA in their textbook reviews. If a book had fifty pictures and five were protested, petitioners could feel safe in assuming that judgements would be passed as to the appropriateness of at least those five pictures. This is not to suggest that the other forty-five pictures would not be perused by staff but to say that only those five pictures which had become issues, with arguments presented for and against them, *required* judgement calls from the Agency. If the record of changes required by the Commissioner can be seen as a valid indicator of petitioner influence on TEA textbook decision outcomes, petitioner influence was minimal. A very small percentage of Agency-requested content changes (e.g., replacing pictures or stories) was traceable to petitioners' textbook protests. This suggests both that Agency staff conducted quite thorough textbook reviews apart from the "guidance" of textbook protests and that petitioners were not particularly efficacious *vis a vis* their attempts to have those at the Agency call for changes in textbook content.

Two Commissioners, Edgar and Bowen, reported that they had removed books which, in their opinions (i.e., opinions which differed from those of their staff), violated the proclamation guidelines. Both men acknowledged that petitioners' views were considered in such decisions, although neither admitted that their actions to remove the books were carried-out at the request of petitioners. Each gave examples of such decisions, citing "inappropriate content" as the primary reason for removal of a text. This information suggests that petitioners may, on occasion, play an influential role in a Commissioner's decision to remove a textbook from a recommended list. In the three cases I studied, no books selected by the STC and reviewed at the TEA were removed from their respective lists.

Petitioner influence on State Board of Education members. A majority of members from both the earlier and later boards recognized some petitioner influence on their choices of certain textbooks. This finding fits the pattern which emerged regarding board members' textbook evaluations. Those petitioners who were active at the initial textbook hearings and who carried their protests to the board's hearing had the strongest chance of drawing attention to the problems they found with certain books. The record shows that the "certain books" board members were referring to were, for the most part, texts in what are commonly considered to be the basic subjects (e.g., reading, social studies, and science).

Petitioner influence on SBE members resulted largely from their testimony at the board's textbook hearing. Attempts by the 1971 board to remove several books, the 1980 board's directions to the Commissioner regarding "intensive phonics" books, and their directions to the Commissioner to request changes in all social studies books and several economics books in 1981 can all be traced to specific protests made by petitioners at the board's textbook hearing. Reason exists to refrain from alleging a direct cause-and-effect relationship, however, for the board consisted of a majority of conservative-thinking individuals who may have called for those changes and removals referred to above without the petitioners' activities. On the other hand, my findings strongly suggest that most board members may have only looked at heavily protested books in the first place. This lead me to believe that it was highly unlikely for members independently to discover problems with textbook content without the benefit of petitioners' information. The obvious exception would be in cases in which the board specifically called (in the proclamation) for content which they could not find or did not find sufficient when the time came from them to adopt the books.

Petitioners, also, may have had personal avenues of influence with SBE members outside the formal system. I learned that some petitioners regularly contacted board members regarding textbooks recommended for adoption. In addition, several veteran publishers agreed with allegations made by People for the American Way that the Gablers, at least, had managed over the years to become quite influential through their personal relationships with a number of board members, most importantly, its Chairperson, Joe Kelly Butler (Tape no. 37). My research lends substance to this speculation: Interview data from Agency personnel, STC members, and publishers reveal that the 1980 State Board decision to direct the Commissioner to investigate the availability of phonics-based reading series resulted from personal influence exerted by the Gablers on SBE Chairman Butler, who used his influence on others connected with the textbook adoption procedure. According to these respondents, the board's decision can be traced directly to the influence of the Gablers through their personal relationships (or at least ideological bonds) with some members of the SBE.

Publisher Influence on Textbook Decisionmakers

Publisher influence on State Textbook Committee members. Virtually all STC respondents agreed that the three major selling points publishers emphasized when presenting their books were "organization and presentation of content," "adherence to the proclamation," and "pedagogical strength." Publishers claimed that "adherence to the proclamation" was not stressed nearly as much as the other criteria identified by STC respondents.

No patterns exist in textbook committee members' responses to the question of publisher influence. Two-thirds of the 1971 group recognized some degree of publisher influence, nearly two-thirds of the 1980 group believed they were not influenced by publishers, and 1981 STC members were evenly divided on the question.

The majority of all textbook committee members who were influenced by publishers indicated that this influence resulted from the publishers' "Round Robin" presentations. Whether made in school cafeterias or fine restaurants, these presentations were intended to influence STC members and their advisors by providing them with selective, comparative information regarding the strengths of a product presented in a manner which denigrated its competition.

This understanding of the selective and comparative information publishers provided to STC members and advisors was discussed by publishers as well as STC members. Given the earlier postulation that most STC members and advisors actually conducted two types of textbook evaluations (the first to determine the good books from the large number of those submitted for selection, and a second to determine comparatively the best of those good books), publishers were, in a sense, "guiding" the comparative evaluations of those in this decision group in much the same way that petitioners "guided" the evaluations of TEA staff. In short, publishers defined which aspects of the "good" books needed careful attention and were thus able to guide decisionmakers toward their product's strengths and their competitors' weaknesses. Decisions regarding the ranking of best books by a committee were often based on these very sorts of comparative measures involving specific aspects of books (e.g., the quality of illustrations).

Other forms of publisher influence were apparent but not prevalent. Mention was made by publishers and STC members both, for example, of how some curriculum supervisors in some districts were "sold" on publisher X's materials (or publisher X's company, or publisher X) before the campaign began. These supervisors may have believed in staying with a successful program, they may have been satisfied with the publishing company's service, they may have been involved with an earlier pilot or convinced of the books' goodness during a pre-selection campaign, or they may simply have been reflecting a long professional friendship between themselves and the publisher's representative. Whatever the reason for this "pre-selection," publishers and some STC members realized that publishers' influential efforts in any textbook selection campaign were not always directed toward STC members and advisors but were directed toward others (e.g., district curriculum supervisors) identified as influential in textbook decisions as well.

Publisher influence on the Commissioner and his staff. The findings related to publisher influence on textbook decisions made during the second phase of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system are far more speculative than those related to publisher influence on the two other decision groups. In order to understand this influence, we must first consider the relationship between publishers and TEA personnel.

Agency staff responsible for drafting textbook proclamations and reviewing books selected by the STC knew successful members of the elhi industry as both textbook salespersons and pedagogically well-informed cohorts. Edgerton (1969, p. 286) refers to publishers as the "first cousins" of professional educators, and my data support the correctness of this metaphor. Most major publishers maintained a personal liaison with TEA staff, a relationship which served the dual purpose of keeping the main office attuned to the directions in which proclamation guidelines were likely to change and cultivating a professional and personal bond between Agency staff and the company's representatives. Publishers who "worked" the persons at the TEA were valued by the staff for their knowledge of national educational trends as well as their understanding of the elhi industry. What is more, publishers continued to keep their fingers on the pulse of Texas education with their frequent travels throughout the state. Agency staff, less able to speak with teachers and supervisors themselves, used textbook publishers to learn such information as what materials worked best in which districts and which subject specialists needed what resources. Publishers belonged to many of the same professional educational associations as Agency curriculum specialists and both groups were working to provide Texas schools with the best possible textbooks. Agency staff and publishers were, in effect, colleagues in the textbook endeavor.

Beyond their professional relationships, many personal relationships were struck and maintained between publishers and Agency personnel. Each of the Commissioners claimed personal friends within the elhi industry and several of the publishers interviewed mentioned their personal friendships with staff and former Commissioners.

Personal and professional relationships notwithstanding, there was no evidence to suggest that such connections resulted in specific textbook decisions rendered "as a favor to a friend." Instead, my findings suggest that the mutual respect and trust between publishers and those at the TEA gave publishers influence *potential*. This influence potential was most obvious in the drafting of the proclamation and was likely to come into play during staff reviews of specific textbook protests. As for required content changes resulting from Agency reviews, there is some purely speculative evidence that TEA staff seldom called for anything beyond "cut and paste" changes in textbooks because of their awareness of the exhorbitant cost, in time and dollars, to publishers.

Finally, publishers frequently were given an opportunity to convince the Commissioner and his staff that their products should remain among those recommended to the State Board. During "show cause" hearings, publishers were invited to present a counter-argument to that which was presented by TEA staff for the removal of a book or series. (Commissioner Edgar recounted having received a telephone call from Bennett Cerf of Random House pertaining to one of these hearings.) I believe that publishers who had established and maintained a collegial relationship with the Commissioner and his staff had more influence potential at those hearings than did publishers who had never met or worked with TEA personnel beforehand. More important, perhaps, mutual respect remained intact regardless of the outcome. The relationship publishers cultivated and sustained with Agency personnel provided them with an indirect influence (Dahl, 1961) which, even for publishers, was easier to discuss than describe.

Publisher influence on State Board of Education members. Most board members recognized no publisher influence in their textbook decisions. Several reasons for this strong pattern of response appear reasonable. First, board members were conscious of the influence potential of publishers and made it a point not to allow themselves to be influenced by persons who made their living convincing others of their products' goodness. I found practically no mention, by publishers or SBE members, of personal or colleagial relationships existing between the two groups although there was no dislike or distrust mentioned either. Apparently, board members' fears of conflict of interest were strong enough to prevent most publishers from establishing the sort of personal influence potential with SBE members they enjoyed with Agency personnel. Another important factor preventing such relationships was that board members appeared unable to recognize publishers as much more than salespersons.

A second major reason underlying the absence of publisher influence on SBE members had to do with the way in which publishers typically presented themselves at the board's textbook hearing. Publishers seldom spoke in defense of their textbooks before the board. Findings reported earlier suggested that most board members paid closest attention to heavily protested books and little attention to the "Bills," "Answers," and transcriptions of the original textbook hearing testimony. Thus, most board members who attended their textbook hearing and listened to petitioners' protests had not had the benefit of hearing the publishers' side of the story. Since this circumstance seems to have been the typical scenario, it is not surprising that SBE members recognized little publisher influence when making textbook decisions.

Serving as STC Members and Advisors

Virtually all STC respondents believe that they were selected as members of the State Textbook Committee because of their experience, expertise, and related professional activities. The combined average years of experience for all STC participants studied was 18.6, and the record shows that all members had been active in local, state, and/or national professional organizations. With the exception of virtually all superintendents, it was easy to match STC members' subject expertise with the curriculum areas receiving new textbooks.

In addition to the professional and legal requirements for constructing a committee , those at the Agency also took ethnicity and gender into account when constructing STCs. There were also personal or "character" requirements to be met by classroom teachers nominated for service. Teachers were expected to be organized, able to make sound judgements, capable of withstanding the many pressures connected with the task (e.g., traveling to meet with advisor groups when necessary), strong of character (i.e., able to resist publishers' bribes), and "middle-of-the-road" (i.e., not "radical") in their politics and profession. Nominated teachers served with their superintendents' permission.

Typically, non-administrator STC candidates (e.g., teachers and supervisors) were recommended by Agency staff while administrators (e.g., superintendents) were recommended by Agency administrators or the Commissioner. Frequently, the Commissioner and staff received both solicited and unsolicited nominations from others, including curriculum supervisors, college and university faculty, and superintendents. The Commissioner constructed the fifteen member STC from a collection of many names submitted to him. When the final membership had been decided, the Commissioner provided each appropriate SBE member with the name of the STC member selected from her or his congressional district. Board members could investigate candidates and veto the nomination if they wished.

State Textbook Committees consisted of two superintendents (who, in each case studied, served as chair and co-chair of the committee), a majority of classroom teachers (although these were not necessarily full-time classroom teachers), and a collection of persons serving in numerous other professional capacities (e.g., administrative assistants, supervisors, counselors, and consultants). Most respondents across participant groups considered membership on the STC to be an honor and many (including publishers, Agency personnel, and STC members) saw it as a reward of sorts. Much the same might be said of those selected as advisors to STC members.

The primary criterion for being selected as an advisor was subject-area knowledge, although willingness and ability to accomplish the work were also important. When selecting their advisors, STC members were as likely to select most or all of them personally as they were to ask knowledgeable others (e.g., curriculum coordinators or district supervisors) to select advisors for them. STC members who personally selected their advisors (or at least the chairpersons of their advisory committees) chose educators they knew or those who had been recommended by someone they knew, typically selecting persons within their own school district. Some STC members did not know the person(s) responsible for selecting their advisors nor did they know who their advisors were until their first collective meeting.

Representational Legitimacy of STC and SBE Textbook Decisions

State Textbook Committee members' textbook decisions.

Subject-expert members selecting textbooks in two of the curriculum areas studied (elementary social studies and basal reading) believed that their selections would not have been considerably different than random groups of their subject-area peers. The balloting records support this contention for the most part, prompting me to suggest a strong degree of representational legitimacy between the textbooks these experts selected and those which would have been selected by their subject-area peers. An exception to this pattern was found in the case of the economics expert serving on the 1981 STC who believed her selections were "virtually identical" to her economics peers, yet voted in agreement with STC members (each of whom used an advisory group of economics subject specialists) on only one of five books selected.

STC members appeared to "vote their advisors" rather faithfully on the first and second ballots. When consensus was not quickly evident, convincing, between-ballot discussions and a book's number of previous votes proved important in prompting committee members toward consensus. Therefore, both the delegate and politico styles of representation were adopted by STC members with respect to their advisors' recommendations. A high degree of representational legitimacy existed between the early books listed and the wishes of most advisors, with later selections becoming less legitimate *vis a vis* advisors' recommendations.

State Board of Education members' textbook decisions. More than half of all board members used advisors -- primarily educators -- to learn more about the textbooks they were responsible for adopting. When the information they received pertained to especially technical or pedagogical aspects of textbooks, it appears that board members adopted the delegate style of representation and "voted their advisors." When advisor information was of a more general nature, it was more likely to become additional data to be used by the SBE member as the circumstances dictated. In those cases, the politico style predominated. The degree of representational legitimacy between the board member's votes and her or his advisors' recommendations can be seen as high or moderate, depending on the type of information sought and the books being adopted.

In a relatively small number of cases, board members adopted the delegate style with respect to their constituents who took the trouble to express their views about certain textbooks. Board members acting in this fashion were often in agreement with the values and beliefs of those interested constituents; in other cases, though again a small number, members of the SBE accepted information and recommendations from constituents without necessarily following through with their wishes, adopting a politico style of representation. With respect to most textbooks, most State Board members adopted the trustee style of representation, using their own judgement (based, in part, on information they received from the Agency, representatives from the STC, and petitioners) in making textbook decisions. Because no real pattern was discernible regarding representational style, no safe speculations can be made about the representational legitimacy of the SBE's textbook decisions *vis a vis* their constituencies' wishes.

Participants' General Impressions of the Textbook System

Procuring the best textbooks. Members of all participant groups except the petitioners agreed that Texas received the best textbooks available. Most respondents reported that the best books were adopted because of the way in which the procurement system was devised. First, the proclamations assured that only the best books were bid in Texas, thus removing the chance that "bad" books might be offered and mistakenly selected. Second, the system provided many safeguards against the possibility that books which were not good would be selected or adopted as a result of "collusion" between publishers and decisionmakers. Third, the system was structured in such a way -- with different groups coming together at different times to make textbook decisions -- that the best books would "emerge" or "survive" the various processes.

Weaknesses of the selection and adoption system. Two primary weaknesses were shared by many respondents. The first weakness was related to the textbook hearings. Respondents believed that hearings open only to textbook critics was a definite weakness. Furthermore, even 1971 STC participants, whose textbook hearing lasted only one day, agreed with many of the other respondents that textbook hearings were too long. Other hearing-related weaknesses included the observations that textbook criticisms were often repeated by petitioners, and that in later years, textbook hearings had become media events.

The second shared weakness noted by participants was directed at the amount of time available to textbook decisionmakers. Many respondents, including some publishers, complained that there was simply too little time for members of the STC and SBE to conduct thorough, attentive evaluations of all the books they were charged with selecting and adopting.

Other weaknesses receiving multiple mention, though not nearly as frequently across groups and cases as those noted above, were the system's inability to address special needs of some schools and districts, the STC members' use of the proclamation to eliminate textbooks (as opposed to their using it as a comparative criterion), and the existing likelihood that books were being *sold to* as often as *selected by* STC members and their advisors.

Strengths of the selection and adoption system. Without question, the strength most frequently mentioned by respondents from nearly every participant group was the system's large (counting advisors) and diverse (geographically and professionally) group of persons who constituted the initial decision group. The composition of this group was believed to have assured fairness in textbook decisions for all Texas educators.

A second strength identified was that of public participation in the overall procedure. Although this was seldom mentioned as a strength of the system by STC members, it was mentioned often by most other key participant groups. Having proclamations as evaluation guides was also an agreed upon strength among groups, although board members valued proclamations more as a control device over publishers than an evaluation tool for decisionmakers. The system's "checks and balances" (which prevented illicit "deals" between publishers and decisionmakers and made the entire procedure "highly professional") were also recognized as a strength.

Several additional strengths were mentioned frequently enough to be considered as generalized findings. These included the low prices of textbooks made possible through volume buying and the curriculum uniformity which resulted from a state-wide adoption system.

Discussion of the Research Questions

Major Question One: How Were Textbooks Evaluated?

What role did the proclamation play in the evaluation of textbooks? As an evaluation criterion, the textbook proclamation proved valuable to each decision group. STC members used the proclamation (which is understood to include both the general content guidelines and the specific subject-area content requirements) alone or in conjunction with their textbook evaluation forms as an initial screening device. Faced with the task of selecting the best books from a relatively large number of textbooks offered, members read the proclamations quite literally and removed those books which did not comply. It appears that once judgements were necessary regarding the *degree to which* books met the proclamation, other criteria (e.g., pedagogical strength) became equally important.

Not all books met the proclamation, and of those which did, some met them better than others. Nevertheless, the proclamation was a criterion which most publishers managed to successfully address and quickly dismiss when making their presentations to STC members and advisors. The largely socio-cultural mandates it contained were of less interest to these initial textbook decisionmakers than their own professional concerns related to format and "teachability." However, when a textbook was eliminated from further consideration at this stage, the action was usually based on its failure to meet the proclamation. Additional criteria became important in the evaluation of the remaining texts as the intentions of the STC shifted from elimination to selection.

Agency textbook decisionmakers used the proclamation as their sole evaluation criterion. All books selected by the STC were believed to be equally good, a belief which eliminated the need for comparative evaluations between books. Instead, each text was compared with the proclamation with the intention of "strengthening" its content or removing it from further consideration.

The evaluations conducted by TEA staff were far more thorough with regard to each text's "adherence to the proclamation" than those done by members of the previous decision group. This thoroughness is attributable to at least three factors: First, Agency staff authored the proclamations, enabling them to determine whether or not each book satisfied both the letter and intent of those requirements. The small number of books to review and their need to read them from cover-to-cover (to locate editorial errors) allowed TEA evaluators to gain a complete picture of the degree to which each book met the guidelines in the proclamation.

A second factor contributing to this thoroughness in TEA textbook evaluations pertained to the professional and political positions they occupied. TEA staff were, by and large, veteran curriculum experts with the responsibility of maintaining a state-wide awareness of Texas public schooling. In addition, they were key figures in the state's educational governance structure, allowing them a unique, socio-political awareness of its workings and the needs, values, and beliefs of its other principals -- the Commissioner and the State Board of Education. Both of these perspectives -- Texas curriculum expert and political "insider" in the state's education structure -- were factors in TEA textbook evaluations.

Having to determine the validity of petitioners' allegations regarding proclamation violations by textbooks was a third factor, in more recent years, which resulted in TEA staff conducting particularly thorough textbook evaluations. A tiny proportion of those allegations were judged as violations by staff, but, presumably, all were investigated. No STC members reported evaluating textbooks with the painstakingness described by Agency personnel.

The proclamation, as an evaluation criterion, was of foremost importance to board memebers although other criteria were claimed to have been used (see below). SBE members did not review all books they adopted but looked primarily at particulars in certain books. Their intention was the same as that of TEA staff: to "strengthen" or remove texts. Unlike the decisionmakers at the Agency, however, they did not have to restrict their actions to those which could be traced directly and plainly to the proclamation.

Members of the board brought a cultural perspective to their interpretation of the proclamation not readily apparent in the interpretations made by either of the previous decision groups. As a largely conservative body representing a largely conservative Texas population, members of the SBE searched textbooks for harmful content (e.g., depressing stories) and made sure that issues (e.g., right-to-work) were presented in the manner they believed best. Over the span of years studied, the proclamations grew in size and specificity and the State Board's textbook evaluations grew in importance. The board may not have conducted thorough evaluations of each textbook, but the evaluations they did undertake were as meticulous, in their own right, as those done by TEA staff or STC members.

Additional textbook criteria used by decisionmakers. It comes as no surprise that two additional criteria, "organization and presentation of content" and "pedagogical strength," were, at least, if not more important to STC members as "adherence to the proclamation." These additional criteria became most critical after the original number of texts considered by STC members and advisors was reduced, and what amounted to a second evaluation took place. Using organization and presentation of content and pedagogical strength as their major criteria, initial decisionmakers *comparatively* reviewed those books which survived earlier elimination. As a collection of textbooks representing a specific subject and designed for a specific grade level, texts considered in this second STC evaluation were greatly similar in the way their content was organized and presented and the ease with which they could be successfully used in the classroom. Therefore, textbook evaluators were left with making comparative judgements about very specific aspects of these books (e.g., name-recognition of the author, end-of-chapter student activities, and visual appeal of the teacher's manual). Making judgements on the differences between such particulars led these educators to their eventual rank-ordered lists of the best textbooks.

These same two "educational" criteria (i.e., criteria which appear to require pedagogical assessment) were also rated as important by many SBE members. In cases where they used educators as advisors (a majority), this is, perhaps, explainable. Those board members who did not seek educators' opinions may have been acknowledging the importance these criteria played in the textbook decisions made preceding their own. It appears, however, that some State Board members believe they were qualified to use these criteria in evaluating textbooks.

Major Question Two: What Was the Nature and Extent, if any, of Petitioner and Publisher Influence on Textbook Decisionmakers?

Petitioner influence on textbook decisionmakers. Textbook protests were born in Texas with the passage of the state's first uniform textbook law in 1898 (Lane, 1903; Goethe, 1952). Since that time, textbooks and their selection have continued to be the subject of controversy.

Textbooks, unlike philosophies, are concrete objects of schooling which play an integral role in the cognitive and affective development of students and as such, are prone to criticism (Reynolds, 1979). In most cases, textbook critics are attacking books not as teaching tools but as "cultural vessels" and for this reason, most textbook critics fit within one definition of textbook censorship or another (see, for example, Arons, 1983; Last, 1984; Nelkins, 1982).

Petitioners had little influence on the textbook decisions of STC members and TEA staff because, among other things, these decisionmakers recognized that petitioners' textbook concerns were largely personal (as opposed to professional, technical, or pedagogical). Mann (1974) has noted that personal arguments delivered within a setting dominated by professionals have little chance of being convincing.

Several explanations are possible, on the other hand, for the influence petitioners had with members of the State Board. To begin, the textbook procedure was structured in such a way that board members, who made the final decisions in a series of three decision-phases, were subject to an accumulation of textbook protest reports (both formal and informal) over a long period of time. Culminating in their own textbook hearing, these protests had a telling effect on board members with respect to which books they attended to and which aspects of those books were scrutinized. This situation was not true for STC members who had largely completed their textbook evaluations and made their textbook decisions before receiving petitioners' "Bills" and listening to their testimony.

A second distinction which was likely to result in the difference in petitioner influence between the SBE as a decision group and the STC and TEA groups related to how members of those groups perceived themselves. Textbook evaluators serving on the STC and in the TEA viewed themselves as professional educators and understood their task to be one of evaluating professional tools. SBE members, however, saw themselves as "lay experts" -- concerned citizens informed about public schooling who cared about the welfare of Texas school students. Petitioners, by and large, presented themselves as informed, concerned citizens, too; thus, petitioners had the advantage of arguing from a position similar to that held by board members.

This shared position of informed, concerned citizens meant that petitioners and board members were both likely to be most concerned about cultural aspects of textbook content. Petitioners frequently disguised their protests in authoritative and sometimes pedagogic rhetoric. They worried largely about social and cultural disintegration resulting from improper textbook content. The SBE's concern for apropriate cultural and social textbook content is displayed throughout the state's textbook proclamations. All board actions regarding textbook content studied here can be interpreted as efforts to see that textbooks maintained the proper cultural perspective.

Another possible explanation for the strong degree of influence petitioners enjoyed with the State Board may be the way in which petitioners learned to use the structure and rules of the textbook selection and adoption system, itself. All of the petitioners who were part of this study were personally connected to (although not necessarily affiliated with) either the Gablers or the Texas Society of Daughters of the American Revolution (TSDAR). These connections worked to insure that, by dividing the work, all textbooks could be protested each year without too much duplication of efforts and that all of the protests filed would reflect a similar set of cultural attitudes and beliefs and a similar ideological focus. This Texas textbook petitioner inter-connectedness was documented by Last(1984) and is an important condition for successful participation in policymaking (Verba, 1967).

Another important condition of the textbook system which petitioners have learned to adapt to is the advantage they gain from presenting their concerns within the context of the proclamation guidelines. Despite the fact that most petitioners were presenting partisan allegations, those assertions were usually argued as proclamation violations. The loosely-worded proclamations made this partisan analysis more apparent in some cases than in others, but petitioners learned that there was a greater chance for influencing textbok decisionmakers when their own personal problems with textbook content could be interpreted by decisionmakers as violations of the proclamations.

"Working the system" means playing by the rules and, at times, having a say in what the rules will be. Petitioners were well-versed on the rules and procedures of the Texas textbook system and used this to their advantage often, particularly with regard to time allotments for oral protests. In addition to the rewards which could be had from manipulating the formal access they had to each decision group (Kaufman, 1963), some petitioners succeeded in establishing informal access, through personal relationships, with members of the SBE (who held the ultimate authority regarding textbook adoptions) and encouraged other citizens to do the same. Establishing this informal access allowed some petitioners personal access to board members (e.g., through visits, telephone calls, and letters) throughout the entire procedure, providing them with a communication luxury they did not have with TEA staff and those connected with the STC. These informal channels of influence were successful according to information board members provided to me and to others (Ciolli, 1984).

These three features -- cooperative character, partisan analysis, and reliance on rules and authority -- are described by Lindblom (1968) as necessary for carrying-out what he refers to as "power plays" with policymakers. They are presented here as one possible explanation, among several offered, to explain why petitioners had so much influence on members of the State Board of Education.

Publisher influence on textbook decisionmakers. Elhi publishers, as defined in this study, assumed two important roles relative to their work in Texas' state textbook selection and adoption: the role of persons knowledgeable about public education and the role of persons knowledgeable about the production and marketing of textbooks. In the first role, publishers were seen as men and women who shared many of the same concerns and experiences as Texas educators and who, as specialized colleagues, were in a position to provide a service to those educators. Seen in the latter role, textbook publishers were members of an industry which existed to sell products, thus making profit the root concern of publishers. Those two perceptions -- service-oriented colleague and profit-oriented seller -- are useful in understanding why publishers had so little influence with SBE members and so much influence, comparatively, with members of the STC.

The average State Textbook Committee member had nearly twenty years of experience as an educator. Having spent many years in Texas schools as part of their job, publishers often knew STC members personally, a fact that has been observed by other investigators (e.g., Brammer, 1967). In addition to knowing some of those appointed to the STC, publishers came to know most of the state's prominent administrators and curriculum personnel. Those relationships, in many cases, provided the same influence potential regarding textbook decisions made by the STC as the influence potential resulting from knowing STC members themselves. No one friendship ever resulted in a publishers' book getting listed, no doubt, but it was beneficial to cultivate as many personal relationships as possible because of the many hundreds of educators involved with those textbook decisions. While there is no way publishers could measure the positive influence potential of such relationships, it was easy to measure the influence potential resulting from no such relationships.

Cronbach's (1955) research disclosed that much of the success attributed to publishers' efforts to have their books selected for adoption resulted from their appearing to understand -- and provide -- what schools needed and what educators wanted. The same was true of the publishers in this study. Most spoke from experience as former educators and, as Dessauer (1974) noted, most maintained informed ties with the same state and national professional organizations. In other words, publishers inhabited another branch of the profession, in a sense, speaking the same jargon, reading the same journals, and attending the same professional functions. Close ties and an intimate knowledge of the educational profession gave publishers every right to expect that textbook evaluators connected with the initial selection of textbooks in Texas would listen to and understand what they, as publishers, had to share. Briefly, publishers' kinship with STC members was a significant influential factor.

The fundamental influence publishers exerted with STC members and their advisors was, I believe, due to the way in which those educators carried-out their textbook evaluations. It seems that, besides evaluators' personal opinions, most of the information used during the time when the "good" books were being compared with each other was information provided by publishers; information carefully prepared to emphasize one's own products' strengths while criticizing one's competitors, a fact not only chronicled by others (see, for example, Black, 1967) but described in the publishers' own professional literature (How to handle . . ., no date, p. 11). By providing this specific, comparative information, publishers not only controlled most of the information provided to decisionmakers, but defined the important textbook variables to be judged. Sroufe (1977) describes such information as a "political resource," useful in enhancing one's influence potential. From the publishers' perspective, though, providing this information "simplifies the teacher's . . . examination of a textbook by pointing out the features that [the publisher] considers unique" (Brown, 1952, p. 276). Whatever the expressed intent, it is clear that this "guidance" provided to textbook decisionmakers was an important influence on many STC members.

Beneath the perception of publishers as colleagues who were helping to make textbook evaluations simpler, STC members and advisors knew, of course, that publishers were sellers of goods intent on receiving what Mayer (1962) dubbed their "hunting license" to sell those goods throughout the state. The hunting license was a position on the list of the five best books. As sellers under great pressure, decisionmakers knew -- and were warned loudly by those at the TEA -- that publishers would use whatever legitimate methods they had available to them, including entertainment, to establish good will (Spalding, 1955), to underscore the positive side of their role in the support and improvement of education (Hall-Quest, 1918), and to convince those decisionmakers that their books *deserved* to be listed in Texas. The importance of publishers' information and participation to those responsible for selecting texts is nothing new (see, for example, Jensen, 1931; McDonald, 1930; Textbook salesmen . . ., 1974), but the importance of publishers' *selling techniques* has not yet been studied since Spalding emphasized the need for such research in thirty years ago. "Selling," according to William Jovanovich (1962, p. 4), a noted textbook publisher, "is, simply, the practice of imparting information and persuading others to act upon it . . ." My research reveals that many members of the STC acted upon the information which publishers provided.

Publishers' influence with TEA personnel is more elusive to determine and describe, but it appears that publishers did enjoy a great deal of influence potential. Part of this belief is based upon the fact that publishers were generally seen as "first cousins" to educators. My data support Edgerton's (1969) report that publishers considered themselves to be an integral part of the education profession, better-informed about it than when they were teachers, themselves. This suggests that publishers held a vantage-point for viewing the profession similar to that held by the TEA staff in that both groups had a broader, more well-informed and up-to-date picture of the education profession than most educators "in the field." One publisher has argued that members of his profession are at the forefront of educational innovation and, collectively, amount to a "national network for the rapid diffusion of educational ideas" (Brown, 1952, p. 277). Given this unique awareness, it is understandable that Agency personnel found publishers' ideas and opinions valuable. Kaufman (1963) reminds us that the sharing of ideas and opinions commonly takes place within informal relationships, and that such relationships serve to heighten one's influence potential.

I do not mean to suggest that informal relationships were established and maintained with the sole intent of selling or favoring textbooks. Such relationships were natural when we consider that publishers and Agency personnel had much in common, both ideologically (Hefley, 1976) and professionally (Macmillan: Back to . . ., 1983). A survey conducted by Edmonson (1931, p. 213) revealed that publishers and school personnel alike believed that members of the textbook publishing industry "recognize the selection of textbooks as an educational task rather than one of mere business significance," and John Williamson, president of Silver Burdette, agrees with many of the publishers who took part in my study that publishers provide a valued service to the educational profession and are respected for doing so (Williamson, 1981). When these facts and beliefs are considered in their totality, it comes as no surprise that, as Norma Gabler noticed more than two decades ago, publishers and veteran TEA officials were on a first name basis (Hefley, 1976). This was a reflection of the mutual respect, trust, and informal relationships which exist between members of the two groups, all factors which might potentially influence Agency textbook decisions (Spalding, 1955).

The absence of all of these influence factors publishers enjoyed with STC members and the Commissioner and his staff seems to be at the heart of why publishers had so little influence on the textbook decisions of the State Board. Board members recognized publishers in their role of sellers of goods -- expert sellers who were more interested in profit than pedagogy. Where those earlier textbook decisionmakers shared a common professional background with publishers, no similar kinship existed between publishers and board members, who were described in one Texas government text as having the following backgrounds:

> In 1977, one-third of the members of Texas' board of education [were] from the oil, chemical, or banking industries; half of them [were] presidents, vice-presidents, owners, or managers of important businesses in Texas. Most of the remainder [were] professionals . . . (Maxwell & Crain, 1978, p. 542)

These board members were all too aware of the priorities of salespersons *vis a vis* company profits and personal commissions, and had little reason to believe that publishers were likely to be any different. Besides the fear that establishing friendships with publishers would raise cries of conflict of interest, board members saw little of publishers, and their own professional status undoubtedly precluded their becoming friends with textbook salespersons. Publishers, therefore, found themselves faced with a collection of textbook decisionmakers on the SBE who could not (or would not) see them in the role of concerned and valued professional "cousins" and were not, on the other hand, susceptible to publishers' roles as sellers. Little reason existed for publishers to hope for any influence under those circumstances.

The imperviousness shown, by board members, to the publishers' role as sellers (a role which required an emphasis on personableness and controlled use of information), combined with the SBE members' particular concern with the social and cultural efficacy of textbooks were, no doubt, largely responsible for the attitude of "the less said, the better" which most publishers have taken since the early years of the state selection and adoption system with regard to their presence at textbook hearings -- particularly before the board (Nelson & Roberts, 1963). My data are in general agreement with Ciolli's (1984, p. 6) observation that at those hearings, most publishers "behaved like defendents waiting to be sentenced. Some were silent . . . Some were contrite . . ." Perhaps this attitude was the publishers' way of letting members of Texas textbook decision groups know that as publishers, they had no intention of taking part in ideological arguments.

Related Question One: What Could be Learned About the Selection of STC Members and Their Advisors?

Several generalizations can be drawn from the findings pertaining to the selection of STC members and their subsequent selection of advisors. To begin, educational administrators and curriculum experts throughout the state exercised a high degree of influence over nominations to the STC and, in many cases, the selection and appointment of STC members' advisors. Superintendents made solicited and unsolicited recommendations to Commissioners and had the power to stop their teachers from serving, by either refusing to allow the teacher to participate, or by indicating to the Commissioner that the teacher did not satisfy the guidelines of the "character" criterion which was so important to the Commissioner. Curriculum specialists also made STC membership recommendations to TEA personnel. Their real influence, however, came in the selection of advisors for STC members, a task which they were regularly asked to assist in or carry-out themselves. No respondents mentioned STC nominations coming, either solicited or unsolicited, from classroom teachers who were the immediate users of textbooks.

Educators selected to the STC appear to have been those who had recently established (prior to their selection) or normally maintained a high professional profile, that is, they were persons who did more than what was expected of them. They may have been "visible" to Agency staff or to administrators or specialists within their own districts, recently participated in a professional conference, or completed a laudable project for their university professor. Whatever the case, their high professional profile resulted in their being noticed by someone with the ability to make recommendations for STC membership.

Administrators (two superintendents in each of my cases) were selected by the Commissioners who, as former superintendents themselves, were presumably well-acquainted with most members of their old peer group. Unlike the other thirteen members who were selected because of their subject-area concentration, superintendents were chosen because they were strong: strong leaders, strong on instruction, strong administrators. There is some question as to the value of their service as textbook evaluators and evidence that they dominated and manipulated the STC balloting sessions. These findings are not surprising when seen in the light of the criteria used and not used in their selection.

The "unwritten" criteria used in the search for STC members (with all teachers and perhaps other non-administrators) included qualities such as the ability to maintain a professional demeanor (i.e., not to be too sociable) and the ability to organize large numbers of persons (advisors) and make informed judgements concerning textbooks in a number of disciplines: in short, leadership qualities. The Commissioner could insure that by selecting leaders who were "middle-of-the-road" and above taking publishers bribes, leaders who were "team players" (i.e., they were striving to maintain a respectable profile) yet who would defer to the authority of the superintendents in their midst, he was constructing a committee which was more likely to reach a consensus and less likely to question or break the rules.

I found absolutely no indication that STC members' or their advisors' previous experience in evaluating textbooks was ever considered as an important criterion. On the contrary, STC members, by and large, did not feel adequately prepared by the Agency personnel to conduct textbook evaluations.

I also learned that there were a number of rewards related to serving on the STC. School districts with members on the committee received a great deal of attention from publishers that was likely to be maintained long after the books are selected. Some districts used the opportunity of having a State Textbook Committe member to conduct their own, district textbook selections simultaneously (instead of waiting and largely repeating the process six months later when most districts were doing the same). Finally, in addition to the personal and professional recognition that resulted from serving on the STC, the possibility loomed large that members might be asked to accept a position of one sort or another with one of the textbook firms. In each case I studied, at least one interviewee acknowledged that serving on the STC resulted in her or his being hired by one of the textbook publishing firms.

Related Question Two: What Can Be Said About the Representational Legitimacy of the Textbook Decisions of the STC and SBE?

State Textbook Committee textbook decisions. The findings reveal a high degree of representational legitimacy between the textbook decisions of subject specialists in two of the cases studied and those which they believe would have been made by random groups of their peers. The exception was found in the 1981 selection of economics texts when the specialists agreed with only one of the texts recommended by the advisory groups of the other STC members. Additionally, the findings indicated an equally high degree of representational legitimacy between the textbook decisions made by STC members and the textbooks recommended by their advisors.

These findings are not too surprising, given the earlier findings and discussion pertaining to publisher influence and serving as a STC member. All publishers appear to have been able to "pre-select" most, if not all, of the books eventually selected by STC members. Publishers also played an important role in providing initial decisionmakers with selective and comparative information regarding their books and those of their strongest competitors. Much like petitioners who, unable to declare support for a book or series, would protest each of the other series while conspicuously refraining from criticizing the series they supported, publishers may have been "telling" STC members which books were the strongest by drawing negative attention to them. This may be little more than speculation, but what is undeniable is that the publishers who believed they had an honest chance to be listed invested a great deal of time, money, and effort into their campaigns.

Even more likely as the deciding factor in the strong degree of representational legitimacy present in STC members' textbook decisions was the careful control exercised over the selection of the textbook committee in the first place. It is beyond doubt that these high-profile educators who were identified by administrators and curriculum specialists and diligently screened to insure that they were "one of the gang" were unlikely to have ideas and opinions about textbooks which differed greatly from the rest of those in the "mainstream." When the screening procedure failed, as it apparently did with the 1981 economics specialist who, according to the record, had only six years of experience (compared to an average of eighteen for STC members) and had been an economics specialist for less than two years, the votes showed differences and long discussions took place between ballots.

The nomination and screening criteria for STC membership and the focused doses of publisher information can be seen as important elements in assuring that textbook decisions made by members of the STC were not considerably different than decisions which might have been made by randomly selected groups of their subject area peers. This likeness in choices was so apparent in most of the first ballots cast that there was little need for STC members to stray far from most of their advisors' recommendations.

State Board of Education textbook decisions. Some discussion of the difficulty in applying the concept of representational legitimacy to SBE textbook decisions was offered in the reported findings. The concept was near impossible to apply to board members' textbook decisions as they pertained to the needs and desires of their constituents. The data did confirm that, in cases where constituents contacted SBE members with textbook information, that information became important in the member's subsequent textbook decisions. However, it appears that members followed those constituents' recommendations only in cases where the beliefs they expressed were not different than those held by their board members. According to Mann (1977, p. 82), this supports one of Ziegler & Jennings' (1974) conclusions that "the chances of representation are greatest where public and official attitudes are already most congruent . . ."

Lindblom (1968, pp. 113-114) argued that proximate policy makers (in this case, SBE members) do not need to adopt policies (in this case, textbooks) that would suit a majority of citizens who did have opinions (and most don't), because "on many issues a citizen opinion, if formed, would be incompetent. In a democracy, citizens do not necessarily want policy to follow hypothetical majority opinions or preferences; they want to delegate to some kind of 'elite'." On the whole, the SBE members who participated in this study recognized the same sort of citizen *ennui* described by Lindblom and felt that, as long as they, as board members, did their best, they were satisfactorily representing their constituents.

Related Question Three: What Can the Participants Tell Us About the System in General?

Procuring the best textbooks. With the exception of a small number of respondents who believe that the best books were adopted because knowledgeable persons on the STC selected them, the data leave little question that most interviewees believe that the it was the system that was responsible for procuring the best books.

It was the system, for example, with its multiple decision groups, hundreds of advisors, and final control in the hands of a lay SBE, which discouraged publishers from chicanery and "under-the-table" deals. Despite the fact that the price a publisher would pay if caught colluding (e.g., losing a job with her or his firm and perhaps never working for any other publisher in Texas) was a strong deterrent in itself, and despite the fact that most veteran textbook publishers have assembled a complex web of relationships and acquaintances with Texas educators throughout the state, some respondents believed that the system of "checks and balances" ensured that Texas obtained the best books.

This faith in the system implies a belief that the best books available were bid, first, and that they then successfully made their way through adoption. Many, many writers on the subject of public school textbooks, including critics (e.g., Bettleheim, 1983), textbook publishers (e.g., Broudy, 1975), and governors of some of the country's largest textbook purchasers (see Kirst, 1984) argue that the best textbooks are not being written; that if they're the best of anything, textbooks are "the very best and purest pap" (Mayer, 1962, p. 71). Faith in the Texas system also implies that the best books, *because they are the best books*, will "emerge" from the procedure, a notion which dismisses the effects of such variables as differences in interpretation of the proclamation, less-than-objective evaluations, and petitioner and publisher influence. Without an objective and somehow measurable definition or "theory" of the best book critically applied by those responsible for its development, we are left with an argument in support of the *system*, not the *books*. In other words, as Burke (1981) has argued, the diversity of procedures and participants may be the best system for adopting textbooks but it does not necessarily follow that the best system will produce the best books.

Nevertheless, this seems to be the belief of an overwhelming number of participants of this study, a belief that was to be expected, according to Lindblom (1959), who explained that one of the major elements of incremental policymaking is that policymakers agree *that the policy is the criterion of its quality*. My findings clearly support Spalding's (1955) contention that, without knowing (and agreeing) beforehand what a good textbook is, policymakers will operate with the assumption that anyone can select the best books when given the right procedure. Moreover, the practically universal agreement among my study's participants *vis a vis* the selection of the best books supports Saliterman's (1971) argument that such a high level of agreement results from participants' reliance on a "legitimate procedure."

Weaknesses of the selection and adoption system. No more than two weaknesses were mentioned often enough between groups to deserve to be called generalizations. The first pertained to the textbook hearings, which participants (with the exception of petitioners) believe lasted too long, were too repetitious, and become media events. It is difficult to determine how participants can believe that hearings were too long if we assume the position that the hearings lasted only as long as it took for the protests and rebuttals to be presented. Knowing, as we do, that most petitioner influence on STC and SBE members resulted from these hearings, I postulated that petitioners' Bills of Particulars were not studied by members of those groups. If those decisionmakers, in raising this issue as a weakness, wished to shorten the length of time allowed for testimony, they would have been forced to read the "Bills" carefully or lose much of the petitioners' information altogether. One might interpret this criticism of the hearings being too long as a veiled criticism of having to listen, at all, to the petitioners.

"Repeated criticisms" was another aspect of the general criticism of the textbook hearings, and was described as the repeated criticisms of a particular textbook by a number of petitioners and/or the same criticism (e.g., sex-role stereotyping) being leveled at many books. This can be interpreted as a recognition, by respondents, of the "special interest" nature of most petitioners -- a fact which exists in all democratically organized public policymaking procedures. It was used by petitioners as a strategy to convince decisionmakers that some books were so bad that they warranted repeated criticisms or that some problems with textbooks were so prevalent that they could be found in virtually every book. It is difficult to determine why the presence of repeated criticisms was seen as a problem unless, for example, decisionmakers were intent on not allowing themselves to be affected by this strategy.

Lastly, respondents noted that, in recent years, textbook hearings had become media events. This is another influencing strategy (Kaufman, 1963) which the Gablers have been using since the early years of their involvement in the system and which has played an important role in the recent successes of the reform group, People for the American Way. It seems to me that, while the hearings may have become media events, the presence of the media need not have influenced members of the decision groups. Once decisionmakers recognized the purpose of this strategy, they might well have been able to sit back and "watch the show" as opposed to taking their hearings behind closed doors.

The second generalizable weakness of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system centered on the element of time. While there were a few respondents who believed that the system was too lengthy, most who mentioned this weakness believed that too little time was available for decision groups to conduct thorough textbook evluations. The STC was given practically three months to complete this task, during which time small groups of five or six educators had approximately twelve books or series to evaluate. This may seem like a long time when compared, for example, to the TEA evaluations which were completed within six or seven weeks. Agency staff, however, undertook their evaluations as a part of their *job*, while STC members and advisors acted as volunteers, albeit important ones. In addition, those at the TEA had no more than seven books in each subject area (counting alternates) to evaluate. Considering the numbers of books alone, Agency staff had proportionately more time for their textbook evaluations than did STC members and their advisors. When we consider, for example, that initial evaluators were not evaluating books as a job and that they spent the first six weeks of their evaluations being contacted almost daily by publishers, it is easy to understand why many respondents believed that this group had an insufficient amount of time to conduct thorough textbook evaluations.

A similar argument can be made concerning the time SBE members had to evaluate texts. If they began their reviews following the STC's decisions, they had approximately eight weeks; if they waited until the Commissioner's decisions, they had as few as three weeks to evaluate a large number of textbooks. We know that most board members were only interested in certain books, and only in particular aspects of those books. Perhaps if they had more time, board members (or their advisors) would have evaluated a greater number of texts or at least reviewed the same number more thoroughly.

The most generalizable weaknesses reported by participants were process weaknesses, that is, problems found in the design of the system. Few respondents made any mention of product weaknesses, such as the system's inability to address the special needs of some districts. Despite the fact that textbook decisions made by educators serving on the STC could be overturned by either of two subsequent decision groups, practically no STC members identified this as a weakness in the system's design. This finding supports Saliterman's (1971) analysis of the IED (1969) data, which indicated that teachers who selected texts were generally satisfied with the degree of control they exercised when making textbook decisions.

Strengths of the selection and adoption system. Respondents believed that the involvement of so many educators from around the state brought a sense of fairness to the making of state-level textbook decisions and was one of the system's major strong points. My findings regarding the representational legitimacy of STC decisions show this belief to be a valid one. This is not to suggest that the array of initial decisionmakers was responsible for selecting the best books, for a group of publishers had identified the books selected months earlier. The point to be made, rather, is that the decisions made by the fifteen-member STC were not much different than those made by the hundreds of advisors from around the state whom they represented, and that involving so many educators in the selection of textbooks makes others' having to use the selected books more palatable.

Public participation was another strength mentioned often. I believe, based on the data, that public participation was seen as a strength of the system for two reasons. First, including the public is only right in a system which rests on the principle of "affected interests." Besides, public participation is a mainstay of democratic ideology. For a number of respondents, however, public participation was seen as a systemic strength for no other reason than its presence: what Dahl (1961) referred to as "democratic ceremonials." The second reason some participants mentioned it as a strength of the system was because they valued the information petitioners provided or, at least, the ideological position they took.

Proclamations, as both evaluation tools and methods of controlling textbook content, received generous mention in this category, and the system's overall design, and the resulting low cost of books and state-wide curriculum uniformity were also mentioned by many.

Tulley's (1983) study of the intentionality of state-level textbook adoptions yielded nine major findings. According to Tulley, textbooks in twenty-two states are adopted at the state level in order to:

1. control textbook costs or keep the costs as low as possible
2. control the marketing practices of the publishing industry
3. provide for public participation in the adoption process
4. ensure the periodic review and purchase of textbooks
5. save time and work for local school districts
6. provide structure and organization to the adoption process
7. allow the state to share responsibility for potentially controversial books
8. ensure some degree of state-wide curricular uniformity
9. ensure the selection of quality textbooks

My findings indicate, first of all, that Tulley's final point was overwhelmingly believed to be a result of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system. His second, third, and sixth points were the only others shared by respondents from most, if not all, of my participant groups. Points one and six were often mentioned by members of the SBE, publishers, and TEA personnel and point five was noted only by those on the board and the Commissioners. Little notice was given to intentions four or five by any participants involved in this study, and no mention was made with regard to Tulley's seventh point.

Tulley's findings were based on the "adoption states'" legal statutes regarding textbook adoption and a review of the textbook literature, and were corroborated by interview data from publishers, state-level textbook administrators, and persons (administrators, teachers, and non-educators) in Indiana who had participated in textbook selection at the local level. I find it interesting that, without having directly asked participants in this study to indicate the intentions of Texas' state-level textbook adoptions or to agree or disagree with those intentions indicated by others, most of Tulley's findings were corroborated. By identifying the Texas system's strengths, those who participated in the cases studied here were, in a sense, reporting that most of the intentions revealed in Tulley's work were being met in Texas.

Conclusion and Recommendations for Further Study

"[O]ne cannot begin to understand the consequences of structures and institutions," wrote Paul Peterson (1974, p. 348), "without first learning a good deal about their internal processes and dynamics." This study, with its "insider" view of Texas textbook selection and adoption, provides both major findings and "fugitive insights" (Eldersveld, cited in Kimbrough, 1964, p. 20) into the politics of curriculum decisions manifested through the selection and adoption of textbooks for Texas.

Conflict, although "imperative for the vitality of democratic political systems" (Ziegler & Park, 1970, p. 119), did not appear to play a major role in the cases I studied. With the exception of the unusual interactions of some of the participants in the1980 basal reading adoption (which I believe was an atypical situation and would make a splendid retrospective case study), I found more "encounter" than conflict among and between participant groups -- mild intrigue rather than high drama in the making of textbook decisions. No doubt exists now that the networks which publishers and petitioners have nurtured over the years, for example, serve as important political assets during the textbook campaign. Nor can we ignore the role administrators and curriculum supervisors throughout the state play in shaping the STC membership. Much has been learned relative to the findings reported and discussed. However, several impressionistic findings may also be of value and are shared below.

The "spirit" of J. W. Edgar, Texas' first Commissioner of Education, permeates the Texas textbook selection and adoption system. Many of the procedure's policies (e.g., STC members and publishers having to keep a "contact" register) and qualities (e.g., the almost paranoid concern over publisher collusion) were initiated by Edgar and became embedded as a part of the "standard operating procedure" over the years. Edgar's service to the state was praised by many of those I interviewed.

I recognized that trust was an integral component of the selection and adoption system. The board trusted Agency personnel to appoint the best people to the STC, those at the Agency trusted STC members to appoint strong advisors, and STC members trusted that their advisors would recognize the best books in their subject areas. Much of this trust, however, appeared to stem from worries about the influence publishers might have on decisionmakers; it was only the State Board, in more recent years, which concerned itself with the quality of textbook evaluations which had been conducted by the earlier decision groups.

In retrospect, it does not surprise me to realize that publishers seemed to have a more global grasp of the system and its participants than did respondents from the other participant groups. Part of the reason for this, of course, is that publishers make their living "working" the system and its participants, relying on a combined knowledge of the education profession, group dynamics, and the "psychology of sales" to remain gainfully employed. Another reason why I was so impressed with the publishers' thorough understanding of the system and its nuances was probably due to the fact that all publishers spoke to me with the assurance of confidentiality. TEA personnel (who certainly have a broad understanding of the system because of the responsibilities they shoulder for its success), in contrast, spoke "for the record" in every case. I am convinced, after listening several times to those interviews, that in most cases, TEA staff and Commissioner interviews were laced with what Dean and Whyte (1969) called "bars to spontaneity," precisely because they were responding "for public consumption." This is not to say that their information was not important, but merely to suggest that they had a more intimate knowledge of how thoroughly STC members and advisors evaluated textbooks, for example, than they cared to share with me. I am left, therefore, with the impression that publishers, as a group, revealed the most thorough grasp of what went on throughout the Texas textbook selection and adoption system.

Two features about petitioners impressed me. First, although most who think or write or hear about "textbook protesters" focus on the "conservative" Gablers, the "liberal" National Organization for Women's petitioners received almost as much mention by this study's respondents. In the minds of most who offered comment, *both* the Gablers and the NOW petitioners represented biased, "radical" views.

The second feature I found worthy of note was that much of the proclamation wording can be traced to, or is at least reflective of, the "radical" views of the Gablers and NOW. This seems important because it illustrates that well-organized and interested citizens and organizations who learn a policymaking system well enough to take advantage of its formal and informal channels of influence can, indeed, have an impact on policy outcomes.

Iannaccone (1967) explained why professional and craft groups who operate within closed systems rarely generate objective self-evaluations, and Kirst & Mosher (1969) agreed, saying that the absence of such self-evaluation within closed systems was "almost a social science axiom." I feel that I can add to this "axiom" the observation that the participants in such systems are remarkably leery of having their system studied by outsiders as well. The Texas Education Agency has never undertaken a comprehensive, critical review of its textbook selection and adoption system, although some of the present reforms which are taking place in Texas education are currently affecting this system (e.g., the Commissioner can no longer remove books from the lists of those selected by the STC). I encountered few problems surveying and interviewing STC members and was well-received by past and present TEA personnel. However, my original advances to elhi executives were, in a large number of instances, either politely rebuffed or completely ignored.

Two SBE interviewees informed me that they had "done some checking" on their own about my research and telephoned Assistant Commissioner Grimes, who had written a cover letter for me, to learn more about my project. (Note: In my cover letter, I invited respondents to call me if they had any questions about the study in progress [see Appendix C].) One board member who I selected to interview told me when I telephoned him that "I've said all I have to say to you on that questionnaire," and bid me farewell. Five SBE members returned neither of two questionnaires, and two non-respondent members never returned my telephone calls or answered personal letters. As if all this were not enough to give me reason to wonder, one of my SBE questionnaires "turned-up" at the southwest regional office of a major elhi textbook publisher, whose manager called to "quiz" me about my research intentions.

Admittedly, I came to believe that some SBE members did not wish to participate. The same belief was held of all petitioners relevant to this study who seemed, at first, to be evading my inquiries. However, after some minor detective work and repeated letters and telephone calls, all but one made themselves available for interviews. As it turns out, Mr. Grusendorf was the only one of nearly sixty interviewees who required that I agree to provide him with a copy of the taped interview before he would agree to participate, and, despite my doing so, he decided against my using the interview content. Similarly, Mr. Gabler decided *afterwards* that he needed a transcript of the interview before he would return a signed release form; a copy of the tape would not do. These actions (and non-actions) on the part of the system's annual participants suggest the difficulty surrounding any investigation of the Texas textbok system and help to explain, perhaps, why the system and its participants have never been carefully studied until now.

Beyond sharing my informed impressions, I wish to advance several suggestions which I believe hold promise for further study. One of a number of aspects of textbook decisionmaking I was unable authoritatively to speak to in this study was the actual way in which textbooks were evaluated by decision groups. Aside from the fact that TEA staff read textbooks very carefully, we do not really know how STC members, their advisors (who are responsible for the bulk of the work), or SBE members or their advisors treated the task. We also do not know what collective evidence was used by any of these groups to remove books from contention, nor the reasoning behind the changes requested by Agency staff. I believe that these practices will undergo dramatic change with the incorporation of Texas' "essential elements" into evaluation guides produced within the TEA for use by decisionmakers. Assuming that these "essential elements" will have an effect on the textbooks bid for adoption in Texas (Killian, 1984), I believe it is necessary to develop a participant-observation design enabling the study of how members of decision groups use these new, more specific criteria to arrive at decisions to change or remove books.

I also believe, as did Spalding (1955) and Manwiller (in Burton, et al., 1952, p. 299), that we need to know more about the publishers' role in state textbook adoptions. Although my research reveals that publishers played an important role in the textbook decisions of STC members and advisors, my research was not designed to define this role. Two important facets that I feel could be successfully researched, with the assistance of textbook publishers themselves, are the importance of specific publishers' information in evaluators' textbook decisions and how publishers make use of their network of educators to position themselves during the campaign for adoption.

One of the most fascinating observations arising from my work was tha claim made by all of the publishers that they had determined, *before* the textbook campaign, four or all five of the books which were eventually selected by the STC. This phenomenon needs further, careful study and might be possible with the assistance of the Association of American Publishers. In each of the "adoption states," random publishers submitting books in randomly-selected curriculum areas could be sampled in order to determine whether or not this ability to predict which books would be selected is generalizable. The findings from such a study would certainly prove valuable to all who study the various aspects of curriculum and textbooks.

Much more can be learned about the practices of procuring textbooks in "adoption states" -- how books are evaluated, who participates and in what roles, and what similarities and differences exist between the practices of these states. Seeds have been sown for such research with the establishment, last year, of a consortium of "adoption states" for the purpose of improving the quality of elhi textbooks (Political leaders . . ., 1984). Researchers might also wish to investigate whether "political culture" (Dahl, 1970; Pye, 1965; Tidwell, 1928; Wirt, 1976) might be a reasonable theory to help understand some of the practices mentioned above (most of these states are in the south and southwest).

Frances FitzGerald (1980, p. 29)) quotes Robert Bernstein, then president of Random House, as saying that the elhi publishing business was "shockingly political . . . Especially in the South . . ." Reading statements such as this led me to investigate and learn that a distinct lack of knowledge regarding textbook selection and adoption in Texas existed. I embarked on this journey, knowing that my work -- like every piece of research -- would be " 'tainted' by personal involvement and affected by 'intellectual passion' " (Innaccone & Cistone, 1974). I have done everything within my power to make certain that I have been faithful to the data while at the same time providing pictures of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system which will be seen, by my respondents, as a fair representation of their feelings and beliefs.

I am in no position to offer suggestions for improvement or change, for there is much which remains to be known. I can say, however, that I come away from this work more intrigued with state-level textbook adoptions than when I began, and more convinced than ever in the power of intelligent, well-organized and sufficiently-funded public participation.

APPENDIX A

TEXAS EDUCATION AGENCY QUESTIONNAIRE

TEXAS EDUCATION AGENCY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How long have you been in your present position? ____________yrs.

2. What professional position did you hold before coming to TEA?

   ____

3. Please use the spaces below to list, in order of importance, sources of information you typically employ when creating proclamations for use during textbook selection and adoption.

   (1 = most important, 2 = next most important, etc.)

   1. ______________________________________

   2. ______________________________________

   3. ______________________________________

   4. ______________________________________

   5. ______________________________________

4. Select the response which best represents how you would compare the importance of proclamations and textbooks.

   (Please select only one)

   _____Proclamations are more important than textbooks
   _____Proclamations are as important as textbooks
   _____Proclamations are less important then textbooks

5. To what extent, if any, are these proclamations typically influenced by direct information or input from members of the publishing industry?

(Please select only one)

______Proclamations reflect significant direct publishers' influence
______Proclamations reflect some direct publishers' influence
______Proclamations reflect very little direct publishers' influence
______Proclamations reflect no direct publishers' influence

6. Choose the response which best represents your typical role in the identification of persons eligible to serve on the State Textbook Committee (STC).

(Please select only one)

______We play a key role in identifying a variety of teachers and administrators who are eligible to serve on the STC
______We play a key role in identifying educators working in our area of subject expertise who are eligible to serve on the STC
______We play a limited role in identifying a variety of teachers and administrators who are eligible to serve on the STC
______We play a limited role in identifying educators working in our area of subject expertise who are eligible to serve on the STC
______We have nothing to do with identifying eligible STC members

7. If you do play a role in identifying those eligible to serve on the State Textbook Committee, use the lines below to list, in order of importance, the criteria you typically use in selecting them.

(1 = most important, 2 = next most important, etc.)
1. ________________________________
2. ________________________________
3. ________________________________
4. ________________________________
5. ________________________________

8. Of your many responsibilities, which of the following responses best describes the tasks pertaining to textbook selection and adoption?

(Please select only one)

_____The most important function of TEA curriculum personnel

_____One of the most important functions of TEA curriculum personnel

_____One of the many functions of TEA curriculum personnel

_____One of the least important functions of TEA curriculum personnel

_____Other (please specify) ______________________________

9. In the past, textbook selections of the STC were forwarded to the Commissioner where they were evaluated by the appropriate TEA curriculum personnel. Please list the three most important guiding factors typically used by you during those evaluations (e.g., binding).

1. ______________________________
2. ______________________________
3. ______________________________

10. During that time, to what extent, if any, were your evaluations typically influenced by the petitioners who had filed "Bills of Particulars" and spoken at textbook hearings?

(Please select only one)

_____Influenced my evaluation of each book considerably

_____Influenced my evaluation of certain books considerably

_____Influenced my evaluation of each book somewhat

_____Influenced my evaluation of certain books somewhat

_____Had no influence on any of my evaluations

11. During that time, to what extent, if any, were your evaluations typically influenced by publishers who had responded to the "Bills of Particulars" and spoken at textbook hearings?

(Please select only one)

______Influenced my evaluation of each book considerably

______Influenced my evaluation of certain books considerably

______Influenced my evaluation of each book somewhat

______Influenced my evaluation of certain books somewhat

______Had no influence on any of my evaluations

12. Do you believe that the Texas system of textbook selection and adoption has succeeded in providing our schools with the best possible textbooks?

______Yes ______No

13. In as few words as possible, please list the major strengths of statewide textbook adoption. ______________________________

____

14. In as few words as possible, please list the major weaknesses of statewide textbook adoption. ______________________________

____

15. How, if at all, might the Texas system of textbook selection and adoption be altered or improved? ______________________________

____

16. Please use the remaining space to add any comments you feel are important to the study of Texas textbook selection and adoption.

____

APPENDIX B
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S COVER LETTER

Texas Education Agency

- STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
- STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION
- STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

201 East Eleventh Street
Austin, Texas
78701

January, 1985

Dear Survey Respondent:

Several weeks ago, I met with Mr. John Marshall to discuss his research proposal. I believe that Mr. Marshall's study (of which the enclosed questionnaire is but one part) can provide important new information about our state's system of textbook selection and adoption, and I fully support his efforts.

You are one of a select few being asked to respond to this questionnaire. As you well know, the strength of aggregate survey data rests on the percentage of returns. I am writing this brief letter with the hope that it might encourage you to take a few minutes from your busy schedule to complete and return the accompanying questionnaire. Your cooperation will help to provide this study with a solid data base and can, in the end, lead to suggestions for improvement that we here at the Agency will look forward to reviewing.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Grace Grimes

Grace Grimes, Deputy Commissioner
Professional Development and Support

"An Equal Opportunity Employer"

APPENDIX C

INITIAL SURVEY COVER LETTER

January, 1985

Dear Former State Board of Education Member:

As you know, public education in Texas is undergoing rapid and substantial change, and the system of selecting and adopting textbooks is no exception. I am undertaking a study of this system and wish to ask your help.

Three specific case studies of textbook adoptions have been chosen. As a participant in one of these, your knowledge and opinions about what transpired during that time are needed to provide an overall, general understanding of it. Based on these findings, I hope to paint a picture of the Texas textbook selection and adoption system which may have important policy implications.

I am asking that you contribute your ideas, beliefs, recollections, and concerns to this endeavor. Please take a few minutes to complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it in the postage paid envelope provided. Please be assured that your information will remain confidential: the number on your form will be used to identify non-respondents and to contact representative participants for further data collection. All questionnaire data will be reported in aggregate form.

Because of the small number of participants in each group, every response is vital! If you have any questions about the research in general or the questionnaire in particular, please feel free to contact me at (512) 453-2925. Thank you for taking time to help.

Respectfully,

John D. Marshall

APPENDIX D
FOLLOW-UP COVER LETTER

31 January, 1985
John D. Marshall
4212 Ave. A
Austin, TX 78751

Dear Former State Textbook Committee Member:

Some weeks ago I mailed you a questionnaire pertaining to your involvement in textbook selection and adoption in Texas. I am presently researching this topic and have requested information from a large number of former participants.

I have not yet received your completed questionnaire. It is important for me to collect input from as many participants as possible and, in the event that you might have misplaced your original copy, I have enclosed another. I am certain that you have a very busy schedule and ask only that you take a few minutes to complete the questions and return the form to me in the envelope provided. It is important that it be returned before the postage rates rise in mid-February.

If you have any questions about the questionnaire or the study itself, please feel free to call me at (512) 453-2925. Thank you for your time and interest in this most important investigation.

Respectfully,

John D. Marshall

APPENDIX E

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION MEMBER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How many years did you serve on the State Board of Education?

______years

2. Of your many responsibilities during those years, which of the following responses best describes the task of formal textbook adoption?

(Please select only one)

______The most important function of the State Board
______One of the most important functions of the State Board
______One of the many tasks to be carried-out by the State Board
______One of the least important functions of the State Board
______Other (Please specify) ______________________________

3. Select the response which best represents how you would compare the importance of adopting textbook proclamations with adopting textbooks.

______Proclamations are more important than textbooks
______Proclamations are as important as textbooks
______Proclamations are less important than textbooks

4. Select the response which best describes your typical degree of awareness of the textbooks to be adopted.

(Please select only one)

______I personally looked at each textbook
______I personally looked at most textbooks
______I personally looked at some textbooks
______I had one or more advisors look at each textbook
______I had one or more advisors look at most textbooks
______I had one or more advisors look at some textbooks
______I had no personal awareness of the books to be adopted

5. Select the response which best describes the point at which you typically sought an awareness of the recommended textbooks.

(Please select only one)

______Prior to the hearings before the State Board

______Following the hearings before the State Board

______Not applicable (I had no personal awareness)

6. To what extent, if any, do you feel you were typically influenced in your textbook decisions by petitioners who filed "Bills of Particulars" and spoke at the State Board hearings?

(Please select only one)

______Influenced my choice of each book considerably

______Influenced my choice of certain books considerably

______Influenced my choice of each book somewhat

______Influenced my choice of certain books somewhat

______Had no influence on any of my choices

7. To what extent, if any, do you feel you were typically influenced in your textbook decisions by members of the publishing industry?

(Please select only one)

______Influenced my choice of each book considerably

______Influenced my choice of certain books considerably

______Influenced my choice of each book somewhat

______Influenced my choice of certain books somewhat

______Had no influence on any of my choices

8. To what extent, if any, do you feel you were typically influenced in your textbook decisions by the voters in your Congressional district?

(Please select only one)

______Influenced my choice of each book considerably

______Influenced my choice of certain books considerably

______Influenced my choice of each book somewhat

______Influenced my choice of certain books somewhat

______Had no influence on any of my choices

9. To what extent, if any, do you feel you were _typically_ influenced in your textbook decisions by advisors you selected to review the textbooks?

(Please select _only one_)

_____Influenced my choice of each book considerably
_____Influenced my choice of certain books considerably
_____Influenced my choice of each book somewhat
_____Influenced my choice of certain books somewhat
_____Had no influence on any of my choices
_____Not applicable (I did not use advisors)

10. If you _did_ evaluate any or all of the textbooks, or if you had one or more advisors evaluate the textbooks, _rank order_ the following statements with respect to the way in which the books were evaluated.

(1 = most important, 2 = next most important, etc.)

_____Adherence to the proclamation
_____Organization and presentation of content
_____Pedagogical strength (the best "tool" for the job)
_____Professional reports, evaluations, journal reviews, etc.
_____Effectiveness (based on student achievement)
_____Other (Please specify)_____________________________

11. If you _did_ seek the aid of outside advisors in evaluating textbooks, who were they?

(Select _as many as necessary_)

_____Teachers _____Students _____Subject Specialists

_____Business People _____Parents _____Others (Please specify)

____

12. In your opinion, what are the _major criteria_ used to select members of the State Textbook Committee? _____________________

13. In your opinion, what are the major criteria used by members of that committee in selecting their advisors?________________________

14. Do you believe that the Texas system of textbook selection and adoption has succeeded in providing our schools with the best possible textbooks? _____Yes _____No

15. In as few words as possible, please list the major strengths of statewide textbook adoption. ________________________

16. In as few words as possible, please list the major weaknesses of statewide textbook adoption. ________________________

17. How, if at all, might the Texas system of textbook selection and adoption be altered or improved? ________________________

18. Please use the remaining space to add any comments you feel are important to the study of Texas textbook selection and adoption.

____

APPENDIX F

STATE TEXTBOOK COMMITTEE MEMBER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What was your position at the time you served on the State Textbook Committee (teacher, principal, curriculum director, etc.)?

   ____

2. At the time of your service, how many years had you been an educator? ______ years

3. At the time of your service, what was your specific subject area expertise? ______________________________

4. Choose the phrase which best describes why you were selected as a member of the State Textbook Committee?

   (Please select only one)

   ______I actively sought the position.
   ______I had expertise in the area of textbook evaluation.
   ______I was selected because of my experience and performance as an educator as well as my professional activities.
   ______Other (Please specify) ______________________

5. Please rank order your use of the following criteria in evaluating the books offered for adoption.

   (1 = most important, 2 = next most important, etc.)

   ______Adherence to the proclamation
   ______Organization and presentation of content
   ______Pedagogical strength (the best "tool" for the job)
   ______Professional reports, evaluations, journal reviews, etc.
   ______Suitability to your specific students, location, etc.
   ______Effectiveness (based on student achievement)
   ______Other (Please specify)______________________

6. What do you feel was the major evaluation criteria of the petitioners who filed "Bills of Particulars" and took part in the hearings?

(Please select only one)
______Adherence to the proclamation
______Organization and presentation of content
______Pedagogical strength (the best "tool" for the job)
______Professional reports, evaluations, journal reviews, etc.
______Effectiveness (based on student achievement)
______Other (Please specify)______________________________

7. To what extent, if any, did the input of the petitioners serve to influence your final selection of textbooks?

(Please select only one)
______Influenced my choice of each book considerably
______Influenced my choice of certain books considerably
______Influenced my choice of each book somewhat
______Influenced my choice of certain books somewhat
______Had no influence on any of my choices

8. If the petitioners did influence your choice(s) of textbooks, which of their actions influenced you most?

(Please select only one)
______Their "Bills of Particulars"
______Their testimony at the hearings
______Other (Please specify)______________________________

9. What do you feel was the major selling point of the books from the perspective of the publishers' representatives?

(Please select only one)
______Adherence to the proclamation
______Organization and presentation of content
______Pedagogical strength (the best "tool" for the job)

_____Professional reports, evaluations, journal reviews, etc.
_____Effectiveness (e.g., "Learner Verification")
_____Other (Please specify)_____________________________

10. To what extent, if any, did the activities of publishing personnel influence your final selection of textbooks?

(Please select only one)
_____Influenced my choice of each book considerably
_____Influenced my choice of certain books considerably
_____Influenced my choice of each book somewhat
_____Influenced my choice of certain books somewhat
_____Had no influence on any of my choices

11. If the publishing personnel did influence your choice(s) of textbooks, indicate how this influence took place.

(Please select only one)
_____As a result of their personal contacts
_____As a result of their formal ("Round Robin") presentation
_____Other (Please specify) _____________________________

12. To what extent do you feel that your evaluation of textbooks would have been similar to a group of Texas educators randomly selected from your subject area?

(Please select only one)
_____Choices would be virtually identical
_____Choices would be somewhat different
_____Choices would be considerably different
_____Don't know

13. Please describe, in as few words as possible, the major criteria you used to select your textbook advisors. _____________________

14. When you set your advisors to work evaluating textbooks, how did you instruct them to report back to you?

(Please select only one)

______Each advisor was to present his/her own prioritized list

______Advisor groups were asked to reach a consensus regarding the textbooks and present a prioritized list

______Advisor groups were asked to reach a consensus regarding the textbooks without prioritizing them

______Advisor groups were asked to report their findings -- including conflicts, if any -- regarding each book submitted in their area

______Other (Please specify) ______________________________

15. During the balloting, to what extent did you follow your advisors' recommendations regarding the textbooks in areas other than your area of expertise?

(Please select only one)

______Followed their recommendations in every case

______Followed their recommendations in most cases

______Followed their recommendations in some cases

______Rarely followed their recommendations

16. Do you believe that the Texas system of textbook selection and adoption succeeds in providing our schools with the best possible textbooks? ______Yes ______No

17. In as few words as possible, please list the major strengths of statewide textbook adoption such as we have here in Texas.

____

18. In as few words as possible, please list the major weaknesses of statewide textbook adoption such as we have here in Texas.

____

19. How, if at all, might the Texas system of textbook selection and adoption be altered or improved? ______________________________

20. Please use the remaining space to add any comments you feel are important to this study of the Texas textbook selection and adoption process.

____

APPENDIX G

EXAMPLE OF ADDITIONAL TEXTBOOK COMMITTEE QUESTIONS

1. Were you or any of your advisors contacted during the summer by individuals or groups who later proved to be petitioners?

2. Can you give me an example of the sorts of changes, corrections, and/or deletions you and your advisors might have asked for in the books?

3. Can you describe the actual balloting? What was the atmosphere like? Was there a lot of discussion between ballots? Etc.

4. One of the survey questions asked for the criteria you used in selecting your advisors. Did you actually select them all? How did you do that? Etc.

APPENDIX H

EXAMPLE OF ADDITIONAL STATE BOARD QUESTIONS

1. Some people I have spoken with have described the board's decisions to adopt textbook proclamations and decisions to formally appoint members of the State Textbook Committee as "routine decisions" when compared to those pertaining to the actual adoption of textbooks themselves. How do you feel about this observation?

2. How do you feel the recent changes in the system have/will affect it? For example, the addition of positive input by petitioners? the 27 member STC? the elimination of "Bills of Particular"? the elimination of the commissioner's discretionery power to remove books?

3. One of the more philosophical former board members wrote that textbooks are only as good as the State Board of Education. In fact, the Texas Education Code states that "The books selected and adopted shall be those which in the opinion of the board are most acceptable for use in the schools" (Sec. 12.24, par. b). Would you care to comment on this? Did you feel that, despite all the work that had gone into those evaluations and selections prior to the point at which the board received their lists of textbooks, the board assumed complete responsibility for their quality and acceptability? Explain.

APPENDIX I

EXAMPLE OF ADDITIONAL TEA PERSONNEL QUESTIONS

1. You mentioned that you had something to do with identifying members of the STC. How did you come to know so many subject area specialists?

2. Can you describe what takes place during the orientation held for members of the STC? What things are they given? What points are stressed? Etc.

3. I have heard and read of the reasonably close contact between publishers' representatives and Agency staff. Can you talk a bit about your relationship with this group of publishing professionals.

4. How do you feel the recent changes in the system have/will affect it? For example, the addition of positive input by petitioners? the 27 member STC? the elimination of "Bills of Particular"? the elimination of the commissioner's discretionery power to remove books?

APPENDIX J

INTERVIEW RELEASE FORM

ORAL HISTORY

INTERVIEW DATA AND RELEASE FORM

Name of
Respondent____
(please print)

Address____
____
____

Date of Interview_________
Place of
Interview____
Name of Interviewer_________John D. Marshall____________________

I hereby give to John D. Marshall, for whatever scholarly or educational purposes may be determined, the tape recording(s), transcriptions (if any), and contents of this oral history interview.

_________________________ ___________________________________

Signature of Respondent Signature of Interviewer

Date of Signatures___________________
Special Restrictions____
____

APPENDIX K

PUBLISHERS' INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. Tell me about the book/series ____name____ you submitted for adoption in _date_. Specifically, I would like to know the extent, if any, to which it your knowledge and experience with Texas adoptions played a role in the actual production of the product.

2. How did the Texas proclamation guidelines help/hinder production efforts?

3. As you know, it's a highly competitive market, and that book/series had to compete with numerous others which, some have suggested, were not , in a general sense at least, too different than yours. How were your books highlighted to members of the textbook committee and their advisors? In other words, what aspect(s) of your product was/were stressed as important "selling points?"

4. Based on your experiences that year, or simply in general, how do you feel members of the textbook committee and their advisors actually evaluate these books? What about the Commissioner and TEA personnel; how do you think they evaluated textbooks before making their decisions? What about state board members; how did they evaluate books?

5. I want to ask about influence in the non-pejorative sense. Perhaps salesmanship is a better word? I have learned from my data that decisionmakers at each step of the former Texas system (when there were three distinct decisionmaking phases) acknowledged being influenced in their decisions to one degree or another by those representing the books. What do you think each group means by this? What are some of the ways in which you attempt or hope to influence these decisionmakers?

6. This question is related to the previous one. How did you and the others involved in that campaign know if and when you had been successful in influencing each set of decisionmakers?

7. Throughout my investigation, I've given everyone the opportunity to tell me what they believe to be the strengths and weaknesses of the Texas system. You know, of course, that it has undergone significant changes over tha past few years. Nevertheless, what do you think are its strengths and weaknesses now (or) what were they during the year you participated?

APPENDIX L

PETITIONERS' INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. Tell me about how you first got involved with state textbook adoptions and, in particular, what made you decide to become active in the __date__ __name__ adoption?

2. Can you explain how you actually evaluated those books? In other words, what was it that you paid particular attention to as you read through each of the books in that subject area? (Adherance to proclamation, Organization and presentation of content, Pedagogical strength, etc.)

3. How do you think members of the textbook committee evaluated those books? What about the commissioner and those at the Agency who reviewed them? What about members of the board?

4. In addition to your work in putting together "Bills of Particulars" and your testimony at hearings, did you communicate with textbook committee members, TEA personnel, the commissioner, or members of the state board in any other fashion? (e.g., letters, phone calls)

5. Did you feel that your work was perceived or received differently by each of those decisionmaking bodies? That is, did you believe that one of those groups or another paid any more or less attention to you or your "Bills"? How could you tell?

6. Do you believe that your work during the _date_ __subject_area__ adoption had any influence on any of those three decisionmaking groups? Please explain.

7. Throughout my investigation, I've given everyone the opportunity to tell me what they believe to be the strengths and weaknesses of the Texas system. (You know, of course, that it has undergone significant changes over the past few years. Nevertheless,) what do you think are its strengths and weaknesses (either now, or as it existed when you took part)?

APPENDIX M

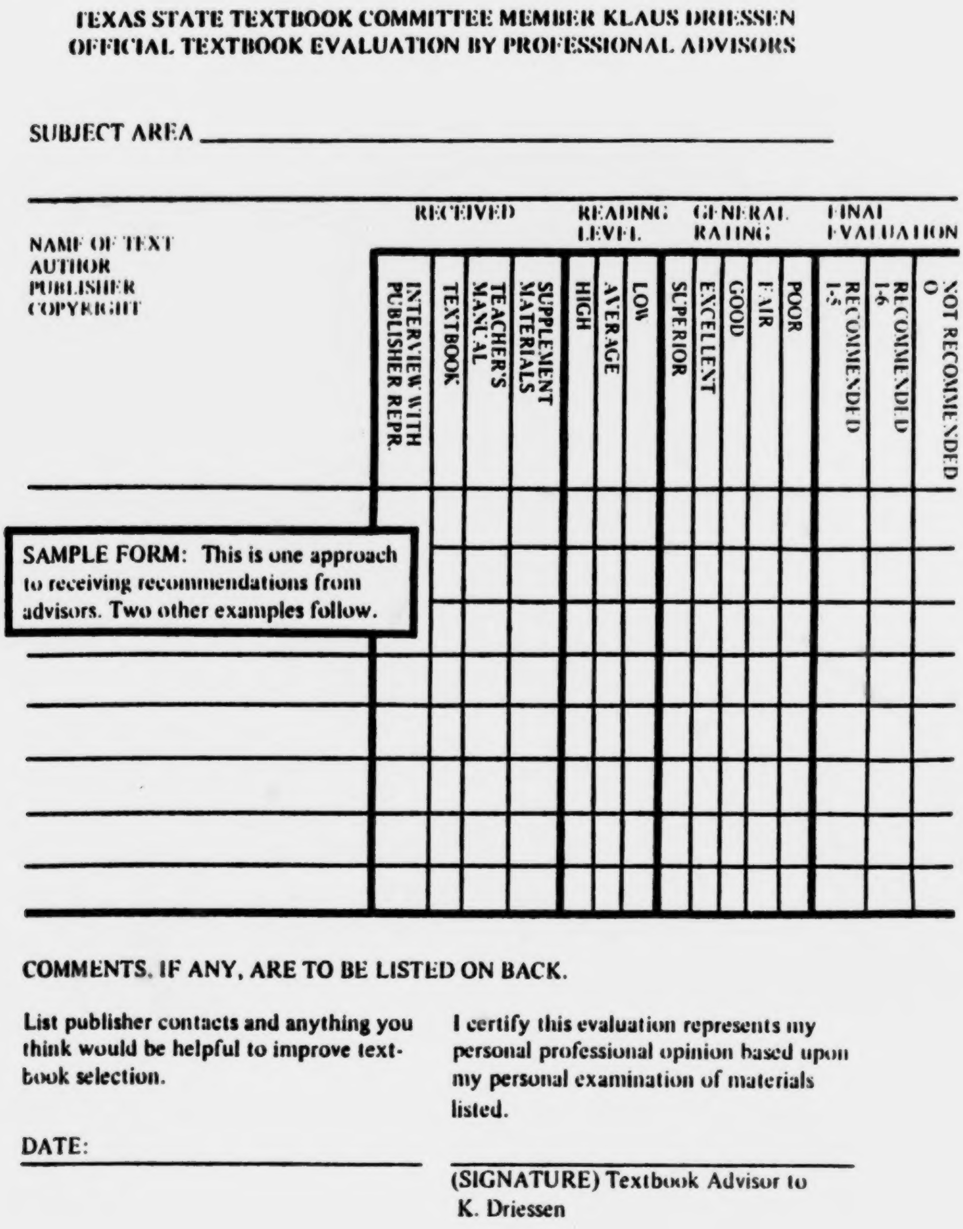
SAMPLE TEXTBOOK EVALUATION FORMS PROVIDED BY THE TEA

(From the 1978 *Handbook for Members of the State Textbook Committee*)

APPENDIX M

SAMPLE EVALUATION FORMS PROVIDED BY THE TEXAS EDUCATION AGENCY

(From the 1978 *Handbook for Members of the State Textbook Committee*)



TEXAS STATE TEXTBOOK COMMITTEE MEMBER KLAUS DRIESSEN
OFFICIAL TEXTBOOK EVALUATION BY PROFESSIONAL ADVISORS

SUBJECT AREA ______________________________

NAME OF TEXT AUTHOR PUBLISHER COPYRIGHT	RECEIVED				READING LEVEL			GENERAL RATING					FINAL EVALUATION		
	INTERVIEW WITH PUBLISHER REPR.	TEXTBOOK	TEACHER'S MANUAL	SUPPLEMENT MATERIALS	HIGH	AVERAGE	LOW	SUPERIOR	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR	RECOMMENDED 1-5	RECOMMENDED 1-6	NOT RECOMMENDED O

SAMPLE FORM: This is one approach to receiving recommendations from advisors. Two other examples follow.

COMMENTS, IF ANY, ARE TO BE LISTED ON BACK.

List publisher contacts and anything you think would be helpful to improve textbook selection.

DATE: ______________________

I certify this evaluation represents my personal professional opinion based upon my personal examination of materials listed.

____
(SIGNATURE) Textbook Advisor to K. Driessen

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

APPRAISAL SHEET FOR TEXTBOOKS
OFFERED FOR ADOPTION 1977
(year)

SAMPLE FORM FOR ADVISORS

ubject COMPOSITION I-IV

rade 9-12

Scale 1. Superior 2. Good 3. Average 4. Poor 5. Unteachable

Companies Offering In This Subject and Grade

	Harcourt	Scott-Foresman	American	Silver-Burdett	Webster/McGraw Hill	Heath	Harper-Row	McDougal-Littel															
opyright	77	78	78	78	75	78	78	77															
ndicate "N" for New Book; "R" for Revised Edition	R	R	N	N	R	N	R	N															
et Contract Price																							
STANDARDS OR CRITERIA																							
1. Reliability of authorship																							
2. Quality of typography and format																							
3. Suitability of vocabulary and style for subject and grade																							
4. Supplies valid and worthwhile material																							
5. Quality and quantity of illustrative material																							
6. Adequacy of teaching aids																							
7. Covers subject matter adequately																							
8. Organization of content for effective learning																							
9. Meets pupil interests and needs																							
0. Sustains desirable attitudes and values																							
The lowest total represents the highest grade. Totals																							

omments

ate ______________________ Signed ______________________

SAMPLE FORM FOR ADVISORS

SUMMARY EVALUATION FORM

Subject Area ____________ Text ______________ Title ______________

Copyright Date ______________________________

Meets Proclamation? (Yes - - - - - - - - - - - No)
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

General Description:

Strengths:

Weaknesses:

Conclusions:

APPENDIX N

SELECTIVE SCHEDULE OF STATE TEXTBOOK ADOPTION PROCEDURES - 1971

(Texas Education Agency, 1971, May, pp. 6-9)

May 3

Issuance of Proclamation calling for bids on textbooks by the State Board of Education.

Appointment of State Textbook Committee by State Board of Education.

May 7

First meeting of textbook committee for organization and instruction.

May 20

STC advisors' names submitted to Agency.

May 21

Final date for publisher to file for a place in the Round Robin Schedule.

June 1

Publishers shall deposit one copy of each book being offered in this adoption with each of the 20 Regional Education Service Centers. Finished books must be filed on or before June 1, 1971. Other titles must be filed as finished up to and including August 16, 1971.

June, July,and August

Period for Committee and advisors to examine all textbooks submitted for adoption and schedule hearings with all publishers desiring to present their textbooks. Members should limit their appointments of professional advisors for whom samples will be supplied in each subject to three.

August 2

Beginning date for Round Robin Schedule of textbook hearings before committee members.

August 16

Beginning August 16 and until the Committee has transmitted its final title selections in all subjects to the Commissioner of Education, there shall be no contacts -- either directly or indirectly, through a third party, or in any manner whatsoever -- between any member of the Textbook Committee and the representative of any textbook publishing company or depository. Responsibility for proper observance of this regulation lies equally with each member of the Textbook Committee and each representative of any publishing company or depository.

August 20

Finished reports of all advisors on listing of books, suggested changes, corrections, and deletions should be filed with their committee member on or before August 20, 1971.

Final date for petitioner to file three typewritten and signed copies of protest on any book offered for adoption with the Commissioner of Education. Copies are sent to the Committee and the publishers affected.

Final date for petitioner to request a hearing on protest before the State Textbook Committee.

September 8

Final date for publishers to file three typewritten and signed copies of answers to protests with the Commissioner of Education. Copies of answers are sent to Committee and to petitioner.

Final date for publisher to request a hearing on protests before the State Textbook Committee.

September 14

The State Textbook Committee will meet September 14, 1971, 9 a.m., in the Board Room of the Texas Education Agency at which time both the petitioner and/or publisher(s) may appear. Representation or counsel of their own choosing may accompany the petitioner or publisher(s).

September 15

Meeting of the Committee to select textbooks and prepare its report to the Commissioner of Education and render decision on hearings.

If either the petitioner or publisher(s) is not satisfied with the hearing, a written and signed petition may be filed with the chairman of the State Textbook Committee by 8 a.m., September 15, 1971.

Appeal for a hearing or rehearing shall be filed with the Commissioner of Education within five days following the hearing.

Date for filing [with the Commissioner] a statement of irregularities or misconduct relating to this adoption during the period beginning May 3, 1971 and ending September 15,1971.

September 24

Date for transmittal of the Committee report to the offices of all county and district superintendents of schools for public notice.

October 15

The Commissioner of Education shall render his decision on the appeals [re the hearing] . . .

October 20

Date the Commissioner of Education sends official notice of changes and corrections to publishers.

October 29

Date for filing report of the Commissioner with members of the State Board of Education.

November 3

Final date to file appeal from decision of the Commissioner . . . to the State Board . . ., such notice of appeal to be directed to Commissioner . . .

November 8

Meeting of the State Board of Education to adopt textbooks.

The State Board . . . will hear appeals from the decisions of the Commissioner on protests.

APPENDIX O

BOOKS TO BE ADOPTED IN THE 1971 TEXAS ADOPTION CYCLE AND SELECTED SPECIAL CONTENT PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN THE *PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION ADVERTISING FOR BIDS ON TEXTBOOKS NO. 47*

(Texas Education Agency, 1971, May, pp. 15-16)

Elementary Subjects (all multiple listings)
Basal Reading -- Readiness, pre-primer, primer, grades 1-3
Vocal Music -- Grades 4-7
Social Studies (Geography) Programs -- Grades 1-6
Texas History and Geography -- Grade 7
Earth Science -- Grade 8

High School Subjects (all multiple listings)
English Composition III and IV
Related Mathematics II
Advanced Texas Studies
French, Level III
German, Levels I and II
Spanish, Levels III and IV
Industrial Arts: Graphic Arts
Crafts
Industrial Materials and Processes
Industrial Arts and/or Vocational Industrial Education: Woodworking
Vocational Industrial Education: Automotive Trades
Building Construction Trades
Graphic Arts Trades
Metal Trades
Driver Education and Traffic Safety
Consumer Mathematics

(*Note: This is a total of 21 different subject areas.*)

Special Provisions

The content of all books called for in this Proclamation shall be in accordance with the Description of Content of Textbooks attached as Exhibit A to the Proclamation . . . [See Appendix P]

Textbooks presented for adoption that treat the subject of evolution shall carry a statement on an introductory page that any material on evolution included in the book is presented as theory rather than fact.

Textbooks presented for adoption should not include language or illustrations blatantly offensive or which would cause embarrassing situations in the classroom or cause interference in the learning atmosphere of the classroom.

APPENDIX P

SOCIAL STUDIES CONTENT GUIDELINES FROM "EXHIBIT A" OF THE 1971 TEXAS TEXTBOOK PROCLAMATION

DESCRIPTION OF TEXTBOOK CONTENT: GENERAL AND ELEMENTARY SOCIAL STUDIES

(Texas Education Agency, 1971, May, pp. 22, 25-26)

General Statement

The textbooks offered for adoption should have the following characteristics:

1. Authors of all textbooks offered for adoption under this Proclamation should have preparation and experience which give credence and authority to their work.
2. All books offered for adoption must be of recent copyright, present up-to-date, factual information accurately and objectively without opinionated statements or biased editorial judgements by the authors.
3. Content is organized to facilitate both teaching and learning.

Social Studies (Geography), Grades 1-6

1. Textbooks to be listed for each grade 1-6 must constitute a component of a total six-grade social studies program. The total program and each grade component should be planned as a developmental sequence of world studies designed to help children
    - develop global perspectives and understandings concerning ways of life, past and present
    - learn how to learn
2. Since only complete six-grade programs are called for, segments or portions of any one series will not be acceptable and therefore must not be listed.
3. Content for the five programs to be listed should meet these criteria:

a. The content or knowledge objectives of the total program and each grade or level should be planned within the framework of basic ideas or concepts drawn from the social science disciplines including geography, history, political science, economics, sociology, anthropology and philosophy. (See Texas Education Agency publication, Framework for the Social Studies, Grades K-12.)

b. Content of each series should be
   - interdisciplinary in nature
   - planned so that it is sequential and cumulative rather than repetitive in cycles
   - significant and transferable so as to be useful in a variety of new situations and relationships as the pupil advances from one level to the next.

c. As a part of this sequence of world studies, content for the programs should provide opportunity for pupils to encounter and learn about various aspects of the American heritage, especially the multicultural nature of the society and its history.

3. The program should provide opportunity for children to learn and apply
   a. skills and processes of inquiry, of concept formation, and of valuing
   b. values that lead to skill in human relationships and effective citizenship.

4. Illustrative materials included in the texts at each level should be informative, closely related to the content and concepts to be developed, and placed where their use will be most convenient.

5. In addition to pupil texts, a teaching guide must be provided for each grade 1-6 which is designed to assist teachers by
   a. providing essential background information needed to teach specific instructional units
   b. suggesting a variety of meaningful activities, experiences and strategies for
      - teaching skills and proceses of inquiry, valuing, and concept formation
      - teaching values that lead to skill in human relationships and effective citizenship
      - adapting instruction to provide for pupils performing at different levels of maturity and ability.

APPENDIX Q

SELECTIVE SCHEDULE OF STATE TEXTBOOK ADOPTION PROCEDURES - 1980

(Texas Education Agency, 1980, March, pp. 63-73)

March 8

Issuance of Proclamation calling for bids on textbooks by the State Board of Education

April 29

Each Regional Education Service Center shall issue a news release to the public press concerning the availability of copies of textbooks being offered for adoption, said books being on display for inspection by interested citizens. Each Regional Education Service Center shall devise a management and control system to ensure public access to materials.

May 10

Official appointment of the State Textbook Committee by the State Board of Education.

May 16

Organizational meeting of the State Textbook Committee.

Each State Textbook Committee member shall appoint professional advisors in each subject. The number of advisors shall not exceed five per subject. A copy of the Proclamation and one set of textbook samples in each subject will be furnished for use by each advisor.

May 23

Each member of the State Textbook Committee and advisors shall schedule at least one full hearing on each subject with every publisher requesting such. Hearings may begin May 23. Publishers must make hearing arrangements on or before July 4, 1980. Members of the State Textbook Committee and advisors may schedule additional hearings as needed. All hearings must be completed on or before July 18, 1980.

June 27

Final date for petitioners to file with the Commissioner of Education the original and two copies, all of which must be typewritten and signed, of protests on content of any textbooks offered for adoption. Only an original signature, not a facsimile, on each copy is acceptable. In the event a co-signer authorizes another person to sign for them, a letter of authorization for such signatures shall precede or accompany the Bills of Particulars.

Bills of Particulars must be addressed to specific books, chapters, statements, illustrations, or selections, and must not be generalized charges. Clarity must be present so that the respondent to the Bill can understand and specifically address petitioner. The Bills of Particulars must not compare, rate, or endorse textbooks. Where applicable those portions of the proclamation should be addressed specifically, I.E. 1.7, 1.8

July 18

Final date for publishers to file the original and two copies, all of which must be typewritten and signed, of Answers to Bills of Particulars with the Commissioner of Education. . . . Copies of the Answers are sent by the textbook director to the petitioners affected.

July 19

Beginning July 19 and until the State Textbook Committee has transmitted its final title recomendations in all subjects to the Commissioner of Education, there shall be no contact, either directly or indirectly, through a third party, or in any manner whatsoever between any member of the State Textbook Committee or advisors and any textbook publishing company, depository, or petitioner.

August 8

Final date for State Textbook Committee advisors to file suggested changes, corrections, and deletions with State Textbook Committee.

August 11,12,13,14 &15 (if necessary)

The Commissioner of Education and the State Textbook Committee shall hold joint hearings . . . on Petitioners' Bills of Particulars and Publishers' Answers.

Purposes of the hearings are (1) to provide the Commissioner of Education, his staff, and the State Textbook Committee with full information about the Bills of Particulars and Answers and (2) to develop a full record for use by members of the State Board of Education.

Presentations shall be specific and limited to objections duly registered in the previously recorded Bills of Particulars and Answers. *The hearings are not to be considered a forum for expressing philosophical beliefs or positions.* (emphasis added)

September 8

Beginning at 8:30 a.m. on September 8 . . ., the State Textbook Committee will first consider the written record of the petitioners' Bills of Particulars and publishers' Answers.

. . . each State Textbook Committee member shall give full consideration to the Bills and Answers before voting on textbooks to be recommended by the State Textbook Committee.

After [such] consideration . . ., the State Textbook Committee will initiate selections of textbooks and presentation of its report to the Commissioner of Education.

The Commissioner of Education in his consideration of books listed by the State Textbook Committee which have been protested shall give full consideration to the petitioners' Bills of Particulars, the publishers' Answers, and the record of the Commissioners' hearings. As soon as it is available, the Official Report of the Commissioner of Education on Textbooks shall be sent to the State Board of Education, the petitioners, the publishers, and the State Textbook Committee.

October 24

Date Commissioner of Education sends official notice of changes and corrections to petitioners protesting textbooks, publishers, the State Board of Education, Regional Education Service Centers, and the State Textbook Committee.

November 6

Beginning at 8:30 a.m. on November 6 . . ., the State Board of Education shall hold a special meeting to hear protests of textbooks . . .

The second session of the meeting shall be designated solely for a preliminary textbook report by the Commissioner of Education and his staff and a discussion thereof by members of the State Board of Education. One but not more than three members of the State Textbook Committee will be present during this period to provide information requested by the State Board of Education on the State Textbook Committee's final title recommendation of textbooks in each adoption category.

The third session of the meeting shall be designated solely for hearing protests of textbooks. Presentations of both the petitioner and the publisher shall be restricted to summations of (1) information previously filed by them in Bills of Particulars and publishers' Answers, and (2) the record of the hearings before the Commissioner of Education and the State Textbook Committee. *The presentations are not to be a forum for expressing philosophical beliefs or positions.* (emphasis added)

November 7

The Committee on Programs and Personnel Development of the State Board of Education will consider the Commissioner's recommendations of textbooks for state adoption at the regular committee meeting prior to adoption by the Board. The Commissioner of Education, or his representative, representatives of the State Textbook Committee, and staff will be available to furnish necessary rationale as might be requested by the Committee. The Committee will review the recommendations and submit their report to the entire Board the following day.

November 8

Meeting of the State Board of Education to adopt textbooks.

APPENDIX R

BOOKS TO BE ADOPTED IN THE 1980 TEXAS ADOPTION CYCLE AND GENERAL CONTENT GUIDELINES CONTAINED IN THE *PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION ADVERTISING FOR BIDS ON TEXTBOOKS NO. 56*

(Texas Education Agency, 1980, March, pp. 35-38)

Elementary Subjects (all multiple listings)
Basal Readers Readiness through Grade 8
Basal Readers Readiness through Grade 3 Bilingual (Spanish)
Earth Science

High School Subjects (all multiple listings)
Psychology
Sociology
Business Management & Ownership
Business Communication
Business Law
V.I.E. Drafting Trades
V.I.E. Graphic Arts Trades
V.I.E. Electrical Trades

(*Note: This is a total of 26 subject areas.*)

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

1. TEXTBOOK CONTENT -- GENERAL

1.1 The content of all textbooks . . . shall be in accordance with Description of Subject Content of Textbooks attached as Exhibit A [see Appendix S] to the Proclamation . . .

1.2 Textbook content and suggested readings which are in violation of these general content requirements and limitations shall be deleted from any adopted textbook and teacher guide prior to purchase of the textbook by the State.

1.3 Textbooks that treat the theory of evolution should identify it as only one of several explanations of the origin of humankind and avoid limiting young people in their search for meanings of their human existence.

(1) Textbooks presented for adoption which treat the subject of evolution substantively in explaining the historical origins of humankind shall be edited, if

necessary, to clarify that the treatment is theoretical rather than factually verifiable. Furthermore, each textbook must carry a statement on an introductory page that any material on evolution included in the book is clearly presented as theory rather than fact.

(2) Textbooks presented for adoption which do not treat evolution substantively as an instructional topic, but make reference to evolution, indirectly or by implication, must be modified, if necessary, to ensure that the reference is clearly to be a theory and not a verified fact. These books will not need to carry a statement on the introductory page.

(3) The presentation of the theory of evolution should be done in a manner which is not detrimental to other theories of origin.

1.4 Textbooks shall contain no material of a partisan or sectarian character.

1.5 Textbook content shall promote citizenship and understanding of the free enterprise system, emphasize patriotism and respect for recognized authority, and promote respect for human rights. Textbooksadopted shall be objective in content, impartial in interpretations, and shall not include selections or works which encourage or condone civil disorder, social strife, or disregard for the law.

(1) Textbooks shall present positive aspects of America and its heritage.

(2) Textbooks shall not contain material which serves to undermind [sic] authority.

(3) Textbooks shall present balanced and factual treatment to both positions when significant political and social movements in history generate contrasting points of view.

1.6 Violence, if it appears in textbook content, shall be treated in context of cause and consequence; it shall not appear for reasons of unwholesome excitement, sensationalism, or as an excuse for relevance.

(1) In the design of textbook content the amount of violence should be minimal.

1.7 Textbooks offered for adoption shall not include blatantly offensive language or illustrations.

1.8 Textbooks, whenever possible, shall present varying life styles, shall treat divergent groups fairly, without stereotyping, and shall reflect the positive contributions of all individuals and groups to the American way of life. Illustrations and written material will avoid bias toward any particular life style, group, or individual and should present a wide range of goal choices and life styles. Particular care should be taken in the treatment of workers, and respect for all productive work.

(1) Textbooks shall provide an objective view of cultural confluence, with the information necessary for developing mutual understanding and respect among all elements of our population. Materials shall reflect an awareness that culture and language variation does exist and can be utilized to promote successful learning.

(2) The books shall present examples of men and women participating in a variety of roles and activities and shall further present the economic, political, social and cultural contributions of both men and women, past and present.

(3) Content which treats aspects of the world of work should reflect the positive contribution of all types of careers to the American economic system and way of life. People presented in the books should reflect varieties of work and should be treated without bias toward particular kinds of work.

(4) Traditional roles of men and women, boys and girls

shall be included as well as those changing roles in our society.

(5) Textbook content shall not encourage life styles deviating from generally accepted standards of society.

1.10 Authors of all textbooks offered for adoption . . . should have expertise and experience which provide authoritative credibility to their work.

1.11 All textbooks offered for adoption should present up-to-date, factual information accurately and objectively without opinionated statements or biased editorial judgements by the authors.

APPENDIX S

BASAL READING CONTENT GUIDELINES
FROM "EXHIBIT A" OF THE 1980 TEXAS TEXTBOOK PROCLAMATION

DESCRIPTION OF CONTENT OF TEXTBOOKS
BASAL READING: READINESS, PRE-PRIMER, PRIMER, GRADES 1-8
(Texas Education Agency, 1980, March, pp. 49-50)

Basal readers form the foundation for reading instruction and should provide a structured program consisting of a sequence of reading skills and appropriate selections or contexts in which these skills are introduced, taught, practiced, reinforced, and refined. They should exhibit the following:

-- Basal readers should establish a scope and sequence of skills and concept development tasks compatible with [the state's existing curricular frameworks in elementary and secondary reading and language arts].

-- The basal readers should be textbooks for reading instruction, not subject matter books or reference books. However, the books should include content from Grade 1-8 curriculum areas, such as literature, social studies, science, mathematics, and fine arts because reading comprehension of such content is emphasized in these grades.

-- The readability, determined by factors such as vocabulary, structure, length of sentences, organization of material, and size of type, should be appropriately more difficult at each successive grade or level and should be designed for that grade.

-- The books should be attractive and the content interesting and appropriate to students assigned to that grade level. Vocabulary words, sentence structures, or other generalizations that do not conform to the developmental scheme and that will cause the students problems in recognition should be treated in the supportive teaching materials.

-- The books selected should be well written and carefully edited. Stories and poems included in the books should have literary merit; that is, they should have value in developing appreciation of literature for students in Grades 1-8. Other content should have value as examples of well-organized prose.

Each book and its accompanying teacher's manual should contain all the materials necessary for reading instruction at that level, i.e., it should not require additional materials to be complete.

Each book should be accompanied by a teacher's edition or manual giving information as to the book's purpose and design for reading instruction and suggesting instructional approaches.

APPENDIX T

SELECTIVE SCHEDULE OF STATE TEXTBOOK ADOPTION PROCEDURES - 1981

(Texas Education Agency, 1981, March, pp. 51-61)

March 14

Issuance of Proclamation calling for bids on textbooks by the State Board of Education.

April 24

Final date for filing in Regional Education Service Centers copies of textbooks and accompanying teacher manuals or editions and systems offered in this adoption.

April 28

Each Regional Education Service Center shall issue a news release to the public press concerning the availability of copies of textbooks being offered for adoption, said books being on display for inspection by interested citizens. Each . . . Center shall devise a management and control system to ensure public access to materials.

May 9

Official appointment of State Textbook Committee by the State Board of Education.

May 15

Organizational meeting of the State Textbook Committee.

Each . . . member shall appoint professional advisors in each subject. The number of advisors shall not exceed five per subject. A copy of the Proclamation and one set of textbook samples in each subject will be furnished for use by each advisor.

May 22

Each member of the State Textbook Committee and advisors shall schedule at least one full hearing on each subject with every publisher requesting such. Hearings may begin May 22. Publishers must make hearing arrangements on or before July 3, 1981. Members of the State Textbook committee and advisors may schedule additional hearings as needed. All hearings must be completed on or before July 17, 1981.

June 26

Final date for petitioners to file with the Commissioner of Education the original and two copies . . . of protests on content of any textbook offered for adoption.

Only citizens of Texas may participate in the review of the textbooks as a petitioner and appear before the Commissioner, State Textbook Committee, and the State Board of Education.

Bills of Particulars must be addressed to specific books, chapters, statements, illustrations, or selections, and must not be generalized charges. Clarity must be present so that the respondent to the Bill can understand and specifically address petitioner. The Bills of Particulars must not compare, rate, or endorse textbooks. Where applicable, those portions of the proclamation should be identified, i.e. 1.7, 1.8, etc.

July 17

Final date for publishers to file the original and two copies . . . of Answers to Bills of Particulars with the Commissioner of Education.

July 18

Beginning July 18 and until the State Textbook Committee has transmitted its final recommendations in all subject areas to the Commissioner of Education, there shall be no contact, either directly or indirectly, through a third party, or in any manner whatsoever between any member of the State Textbook Committee or advisors and any textbook publishing company, depository, or petitioner.

August 7

Final date for State Textbook Committee advisors to file suggested changes, corrections, and deletions with State Textbook Committee.

August 10, 11, 12, 13, & 14 (if necessary)

The Commissioner of Education and the State Textbook Committee shall hold joint hearings in the Texas Education Agency offices . . .

Purposes of the hearings are (1) to provide the Commissioner of Education, his staff, and the State Textbook Committee with full information about the Bills of Particulars and Answers and (2) to develop a full record for use by members of the State Board of Education.

Presentations shall be specific and limited to objections duly registered in the Bills of Particulars and Answers. *The hearings are not to be considered a forum for expressing philosophical beliefs or positions* (emphasis added).

Within 10 days after the hearings are held, the Commissioner of Education shall send to the State Board of Education, State Textbook Committee, the petitioners, and the publishers copies of the record of the hearings, including official exhibits.

Beginning September 8

Beginning at 8:30 a.m. on September 8 . . ., the State Textbook Committee will first consider the written record of the petitioners' Bills of Particulars and publishers Answers.

After [such] consideration . . ., the State Textbook Committee will initiate selections of textbooks and presentation of its report to the Commissioner.

The State Textbook Committee shall recommend . . . a list of UP TO five books in each adoption category and may recommend a list of no more than two alternates in each category.

The Commissioner of Education in his consideration of books listed by the State Textbook Committee which have been protested shall give full consideration to the petitioners' Bills of Particulars, the publishers Answers, and the record of the Commissioner's hearings. As soon as it is available, the Official Report of the Commissioner of Education on Textbooks shall be sent to the State board of Education, the petitioners, the publishers, and the State Textbook Committee.

October 16

Final date for petitioners to request their intent to appear before the State Board of Education relative to petitions duly filed concerning textbooks. Said intent shall specify publisher and specific books to which the petitioner wishes to speak.

October 27

Date Commissioner of Education sends final notice of changes and corrections to petitioners protesting textbooks, publishers, the State Board of Education, . . . and the State Textbook Committee.

November 12

. . . the State Board of Education shall hold a special meeting to hear protests of textbooks and complaints of misconduct and procedural irregularities which have been filed in accordance with adoption policies. The first session . . . shall be designated solely for hearing complaints of misconduct and procedural irregularities.

The second session . . . shall be designated solely for a preliminary textbook report by the Commissioner of Education and his staff and a discussion thereof by members of the State Board of Education.

One but not more than three members of the State Textbook Committee will be present during this period to provide information requested by the State Board of Education on the State Textbook Committee's final title recommendation of textbooks in each adoption category.

The third session . . . shall be designated solely for hearing protests of textbooks. Presentations of both the petitioner and the publisher shall be restricted to summations of (1) information previously filed by them in Bills of Particulars and publishers' Answers, and (2) the record of the hearings before the Commissioner of Education and the State Textbook Committee. The presentations are not to be considered a forum for expressing philosophical beliefs or positions.

The petitioner shall have a maximum presentation time of 45 minutes. Each publisher shall have the amount of time equal to that directed to him by the petitioner. . . . Rebuttal time shall be limited to 50 per cent of the time used by the publisher. Rebuttals shall be limited to the specifics of the publisher's answer.

The fourth session . . . shall be a presentation made by the Commissioner of Education summarizing the hearings and recommendations of the Commissioner of Education.

November 13

The Committee on Programs and Personnel Development of the State Board of Education will consider the Commissioner's recommendations of textbooks for state adoption at the regular committee meeting prior to adoption by the Board. The Commissioner of Education, or his representative, representatives of the State Textbook Committee, and staff will be available to furnish necessary rationale as might be requested by the Committee. The Committee will review the recommendations and submit their report to the entire Board the following day.

November 14

Meeting of the State Board of Education to adopt textbooks.

APPENDIX U

BOOKS TO BE ADOPTED IN THE 1981 TEXAS ADOPTION CYCLE
AND GENERAL CONTENT GUIDELINES CONTAINED IN THE
PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION ADVERTISING FOR BIDS
ON TEXTBOOKS NO. 57

(Texas Education Agency, 1981, March, pp. 9-12)

Elementary Subjects (all multiple listings)
Kindergarten Textbook Materials (English)
Kindergarten Textbook Materials (Spanish)
Social Studies Grades 4, 5, and 6
Art (Teacher's Material) Grades 1-3
Art (Teacher's Material) Grades 4-6

High School Subjects(all multiple listings)
Introduction to Speech Communications/Speech Grade 8
Interpersonal and Group Communication/Oral Interpretation
English Dictionaries
Spanish Levels I, II, III
Advanced Spanish
Analytic Geometry
Calculus with Analytic Geometry
Elementary Analysis
Mathematics Independent Study and Conference Courses
Probability and Statistics
Physical Science
Theatre Arts I (7-12)
Theatre Arts II
Geology
Economics
I. A. Electrical Systems
I. A. Power Systems
I. A. Architectural and Technical Drafting
I. A. General Drafting and Engineering Graphics
I. A. and/or V. I. E. General Woodworking
Homemaking

(Note: This is a total of 31 subject areas.)

CONTENT GUIDELINES

1. TEXTBOOK CONTENT -- GENERAL

1.1 The content of all textbooks . . . shall be in accordance with Description of Subject Content of Textbooks attached as Exhibit A [see Appendix V] to the Proclamation . . .

1.2 Textbook content and suggested readings which are in violation of these general content requirements and limitations shall be deleted from any adopted textbook and teacher guide prior to purchase of the textbook by the state.

1.3 Textbooks that treat the theory of evolution should identify it as only one of several explanations of the origin of humankind and avoid limiting young people in their search for meanings of their human existence.

(1) Textbooks presented for adoption which treat the subject of evolution substantively in explaining the historical origins of humankind shall be edited, if necessary, to clarify that the treatment is theoretical rather than factually verifiable. Furthermore, each textbook must carry a statement on an introductory page that any material on evolution included in the book is clearly presented as theory rather than fact.

(2) Textbooks presented for adoption which do not treat evolution substantively as an instructional topic, but make reference to evolution, indirectly or by implication, must be modified, if necessary, to ensure that the reference is clearly to be a theory and not a verified fact. These books will not need to carry a statement on the introductory page.

(3) The presentation of the theory of evolution should be done in a manner which is not detrimental to other theories of origin.

1.4 Textbooks shall contain no material of a partisan or sectarian character.

1.5 Textbook content shall promote citizenship and understanding of the free enterprise system, emphasize patriotism and respect for recognized authority, and promote respect for human rights. Textbooks adopted shall be objective in content, impartial in interpretations, and shall not include selections or works which encourage or condone civil disorder, social strife, or disregard for the law.

(1) Textbooks shall present positive aspects of America and its heritage.

(2) Textbooks shall not contain material which serves to undermine authority.

(3) Textbooks shall present balanced and factual treatment to both positions when significant political and social movements in history generate contrasting points of view.

(4) FREE ENTERPRISE AS USED IN THIS PROCLAMATION MEANS AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM CHARACTERIZED BY PRIVATE OR CORPORATE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL GOODS, BY INVESTMENTS THAT ARE DETERMINED BY PRIVATE DECISION RATHER THAN BY STATE CONTROL, AND BY PRICES, PRODUCTION, AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS THAT ARE DETERMINED IN A FREE MANNER. (Acts. 1973, 63rd Legislature.)

1.6 Violence, if it appears in textbook content, shall be treated in context of cause and consequence; it shall not appear for reasons of unwholesome excitement, sensationalism, or as an excuse for relevance.

(1) In the design of textbook content the amount of violence should be minimal.

1.7 Textbooks offered for adoption shall not include blatantly offensive language or illustrations.

1.8 Textbooks offered for adoption shall not present material which would cause embarrassing situations or interference in the learning atmosphere of the classroom.

1.9 Textbooks, whenever possible, shall present varying life styles, shall treat divergent groups fairly, without stereotyping, and shall reflect the positive contributions of all individuals and groups to the American way of life. Illustrations and written material will avoid bias toward any particular life style, group, or individual and should present a wide range of goal choices and life styles. Particular care should be taken in the treatment of workers, and respect for all productive work.

(1) Textbooks shall provide an objective view of cultural confluence, with the information necessary for developing mutual understanding and respect among all elements of our population. Materials shall reflect an awareness that culture and language variation does exist and can be utilized to promote successful learning.

(2) The books shall present examples of men and women participating in a variety of roles and activities and shall further present the economic, political, social and cultural contributions of both men and women, past and present.

(3) Content which treats aspects of the world of work should reflect the positive contribution of all types of careers to the American economic system and way of life. People presented in the books should reflect varieties of work and should be treated without bias toward particular kinds of work.

(4) Traditional roles of men and women, boys and girls shall be included as well as those changing roles in our society.

(5) Textbook content shall not encourage life styles deviating from generally accepted standards of society.

1.10 Authors of all textbooks offered for adoption . . . should have expertise and experience which provide authoritative credibility to their work.

1.11 All textbooks offered for adoption should present up-to-date, factual information accurately and objectively without opinionated statements or biased editorial judgements by the authors.

1.12 Textbook content should be organized to facilitate both teaching and learning.

APPENDIX V

ECONOMICS CONTENT GUIDELINES
FROM EXHIBIT "A" OF THE 1981 TEXTBOOK PROCLAMATION

(Texas Education Agency, 1981, March, pp. 46-47)

ECONOMICS

Textbooks selected for this category shall assist students in developing an understanding of the principles of economics and knowledge of the American free enterprise system. The textbooks shall include sufficient instructional material for a one-semester course in either social studies or business education.

The textbooks shall include the following content:

- the function of a free market in the determination of prices and allocation of resources
- THE INTERACTION OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND IN A FREE MARKET
- the role of INDIVIDUALS AS business PERSONS AND CONSUMERS in the production and distribution of goods and services
- characteristics of a free market economy
- roles of profit and competition in A market ECONOMY
- private decision making in the use of the factors of production (land, labor, capital)
- role of government in a market economy and the advantages and disadvantages of government intercession in the market
- roles of the labor force in the American economic system
- international economic relations including SUCH TOPICS AS world trade, foreign investments, balance of payments, TARIFFS, QUOTAS
- ROLES OF MONEY AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, IN THE MARKET ECONOMY

Textbooks should also include such concepts as scarcity, interdependence, economic growth and stability, comparative economic systems, and INDIVIDUAL choice-making.

The content in the textbooks listed shall be objective in the presentation AND DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC ISSUES AND of the American free enterprise system. FREE ENTERPRISE MEANS AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM CHARACTERIZED BY PRIVATE OR CORPORATE OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL GOODS, BY INVESTMENTS THAT ARE DETERMINED BY PRIVATE DECISIONS RATHER THAN BY STATE CONTROL, AND BY PRICES, PRODUCTION, AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS

THAT ARE DETERMINED IN A FREE MANNER.

The State Textbook Committee should consider the readability levels of textbooks to meet the needs of students enrolled in the course. The interest level and content of the textbooks should be appropriate for high school students.

Each textbook shall be accompanied by a teacher's manual or edition that:

- provides background information needed to teach specific chapters or units
- includes goals and objectives for the instructional materials in the textbook
- suggests a variety of instructional strategies for adapting instruction to varying levels of student abilities
- lists suggested professional and student readings and supplemental materials

APPENDIX W

STATEMENT OF ORAL HISTORY DATA INDEPENDENT VALIDITY CHECK

THE WILLIAM PATERSON COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY
300 POMPTON ROAD • WAYNE • 07470

TO: John Marshall's Dissertation Committee

FROM: John Fulton, Associate Professor of English (retired)
William Paterson College

RE: Auditing of Interview Tapes

DATE: June 15, 1985

John Marshall asked me to audit his dissertation, "The Politics of Curriculum Decisions   Manifested Through the Selection and Adoption of Textbooks for Texas," to determine whether the cited interviews correlate accurately with the written transcripts, and whether these transcripts correlate accurately with the actual tape recordings. I reviewed Chapters One through Four, which contained virtually all of the oral data, selecting at random fifteen interview quotations. In addition, I purposely chose five transcribed quotes. Mr. Marshall provided me with the appropriate hand-written transcriptions and the original interview tapes. I compared the hand-written transcriptions to the dissertation passages and then compared the dissertation passages with the actual tape recordings.

In a few instances I found that Mr. Marshall had not fully transcribed the taped material by hand for one good reason that was clear to me as soon as I heard the actual tape: the tape was so clear and forthright that I could have typed those passages myself directly from the tape. In these few cases I correlated the tape directly with the dissertation. In the overwhelming majority of these twenty cases, however -- taped oral interviews being what they normally are -- Mr. Marshall had meticulously transcribed these tapes by hand, in many instances, obviously, over and over again to insure accuracy. When he was in doubt about a particular word, he wrote "inaudible." In Chapter Two, p.58 (Tape #3), for example, I was able -- after three re-runs of the tape -- to decipher the "inaudible" word as exposure.

1855

THE WILLIAM PATERSON COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY
300 POMPTON ROAD • WAYNE • 07470

In these transcriptions, Mr. Marshall followed conventional procedure: he did not include rambling, irrelevant comments or the ubiquitous "You know," but indicated these with merciful — and accurately placed -- ellipses. I noticed, too, particularly in a few of the passages I chose purposely, that Mr. Marshall carefully noted the interviewees' own emphases.

In my professional judgement, the transmission of these data from tape to transcript to dissertation is indeed accurate. I certainly found no evidence whatsoever of alteration or manipulation of these data.

John Fulton

John Fulton
Associate Professor of English

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